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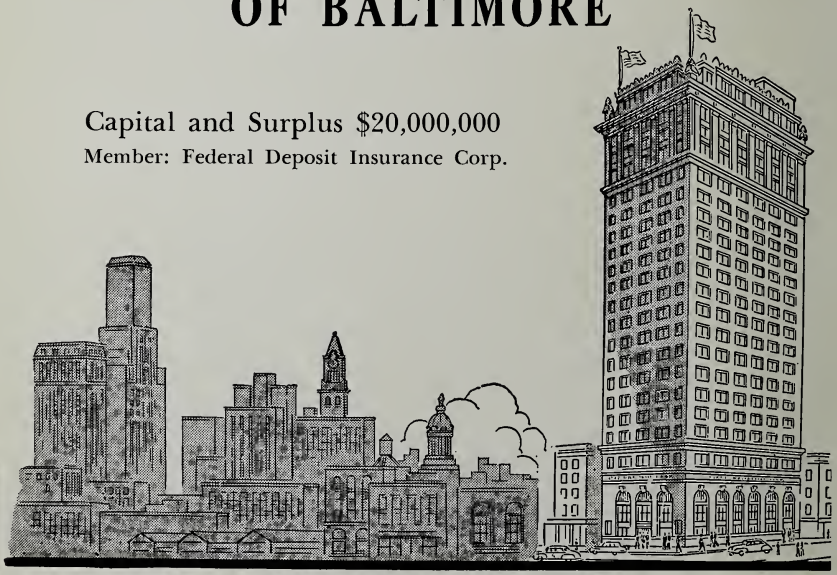

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 51, NO. 1 MARCH, 1956

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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

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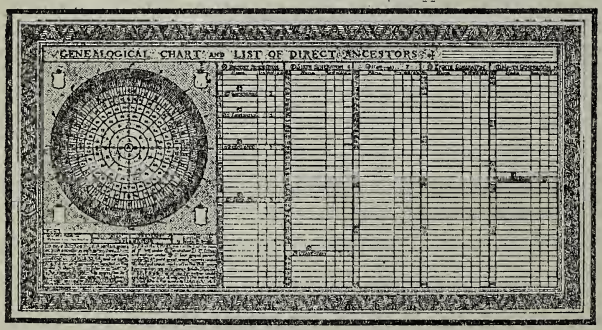

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 51 MARCH, 1956 Number 1

HORATIO GREENOUGH, BOSTON SCULPTOR, AND ROBERT GILMOR, JR., HIS BALTIMORE PATRON

By Nathalia Wright

ONE of the earliest and most generous patrons of the sculptor Horatio Greenough was Robert Gilmor, Jr., merchant and art collector of Baltimore The story of their relationship constitutes a short chapter in the history of American art. It also furnishes glimpses—often laughable, sometimes sentimental, always engaging—of an eager, ambitious, and appreciative young man and his older, less imaginative, but sympathetic friend.

The two men first met in March, 1828, in Washington, where Greenough was modelling busts of President John Quincy Adams and Chief Justice John Marshall.[1] At that time Greenough was

[1] The sources for this account of the Greenough-Gilmor relationship are, unless otherwise noted, Greenough's letters to his brother Henry of March 8, 26, and

not yet twenty-three. He had returned the year before because of illness from Rome, where he had studied some eighteen months, and, though he had executed a few busts and one or two statues, he was known principally to the Washington Allston circle in Cambridge and his native Boston. Well-born though he was, his father's financial position was precarious, and he had no funds with which to continue his study.

Gilmor at fifty-four was one of Baltimore's wealthiest and most prominent citizens, widely acquainted in America and abroad, and owner of one of the finest collections of art objects in the country. The success of his father's counting-house had early given him opportunity to indulge his fondness for the arts—a fondness which, like the peculiarly American connoisseur that he was, he at first feared " may perhaps prove dangerous," but which, he added, " as long as I can restrain it with[in] the bounds of prudence & reason, I am convinced . . . will prove one of the greatest sources of pleasure, amusement and relaxation from the serious concerns of life." [2]

Approving what he saw of Greenough's work in Washington, Gilmor engaged the sculptor to make a bust of himself or his wife for $100 and asked an estimate for a statue of Venus rising from the shell. The bust, of Mrs. Gilmor as it was decided, was modelled in Gilmor's Gothic library in Baltimore during the last two weeks of March and the first week of April, 1828. Greenough thought it his best work in America, and Gilmor was sufficiently pleased to order its execution in marble and also a group or statue of undetermined subject—both commissions to be carried

April 5, 1828, in *Letters of Horatio Greenough* (Boston, 1887), pp. 31-41, and his letters to Gilmor, May 17, 1828 (Pennsylvania Historical Society), Feb. 25, 1829 (Maine Historical Society), May 16, 1829 (Pennsylvania Historical Society), April 25, Sept. 7, 1830 (Boston Public Library), April 12, 1831 (Maine Historical Society), Oct. 10, 1831 (University of Michigan), Jan. 13, June 10, 1832 (Boston Public Library), July 25, 1833 (Haverford College), Nov. 28, 1835 (Boston Public Library). These letters are all I have located of those written by Greenough to Gilmor. Three others, two dated 1830 and one 1839, were sold at the Libbie auction of Brantz Mayer's manuscripts on Nov. 11-13, 1879. Possibly Greenough wrote no more than fourteen in all which reached their destination; some three or four on each side of the correspondence were lost in transit. On Aug. 29, 1848, Gilmor sent Mayer ten of Greenough's letters which he said contained " a full history of all that has passed between us on the subject of the Medora & my wife's bust & cameo portrait." (Letter in the New York Historical Society.)

I have not located any of Gilmor's letters to Greenough. There were at least those dated Oct. 9, 1829, *ca.* Dec., 1829, June 12, Oct. 24, 1830, Nov. 10, 1831, Feb. 29, 1832, *ca.* June, 1833, Sept. 24, 1835.

[2] Anna Wells Rutledge, " Robert Gilmor, Jr., Baltimore Collector," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XII (1949), 19.

out in Italy. He also interested himself in Greenough's career: introduced the young man to possible patrons (and to such historical personages as old Charles Carroll of Carrollton), obtained for him an order for a bust in Philadelphia, possibly advanced money which made it possible for him to return to Italy, and influenced several Bostonians to lend him $1,000. Greenough sailed in May and this time established himself in Florence.

The first of the two Italian orders, Mrs. Gilmor's bust in marble, gave Greenough a disproportionate amount of trouble. The episode [3] illustrates one of the most exasperating circumstances of the life of sculptors in Italy in the nineteenth century: their dependence on native workmen to bost or roughly cut the stone. When the cast of the bust reached Leghorn from America in January, 1829—nearly a year after it was made—Greenough had it sent directly to the quarries at Carrara, but wishing to remodel the drapery he instructed the boster to wait for his arrival. The boster, having recently quarreled with Greenough's former teacher Bartolini and fearing dismissal by the pupil (also, no doubt, taking advantage of the young sculptor's inexperience) went to work on the marble immediately, making alterations impossible. Meanwhile Greenough was delayed in Florence modelling for James Fenimore Cooper the group of Chanting Cherubs, his first specific large commission, which he was eager to finish and exhibit in the hope that it would improve his chances of obtaining a government commission.

Apparently it was June before Greenough arrived in Carrara.[4] His reaction upon discovery of the damage done by the boster was typical of his professional consciousness, his passion for perfection, his generosity, and his impecuniousness. He first consulted other artists in Florence, and obtaining their approval of his proposed changes he wrote the boster, charging him with ruining the work and proposing to pay him but half the regular price of twenty-five francesconi (about $26). At this the man created a noisy and protracted scene, heaping insults on the sculptor and all his countrymen and refusing to give up either bust or cast. The American consul had finally to intervene to secure them. By this time it was mid-September, a month after Greenough had

[3] It was described by Horatio to Henry, Sept. 16, 1829; quoted in Henry to Gilmor, Oct. 29, 1829 (New York Historical Society).

[4] His passport is so stamped (Massachusetts Historical Society).

promised the work would be in New York. Still dissatisfied with the design and feeling it his " duty to do more " than make the work " as good as Mr G expects it," [5] he proposed to finish it without drapery as a specimen of his work to be given by Gilmor to some friend and to execute a second bust draped to please him. Sketches of the second design were to accompany the first bust. Yet in the end he evidently finished the work, which was sparingly draped, according to the original model, and seems to have executed no other design. It was finished by mid-November and shipped in February, 1830.[6]

For Mrs. Gilmor's bust Greenough was evidently paid $150. He received $100 at the time of its modelling and was to have $50 more when the marble was dispatched.[7] In this transaction Gilmor was again thoughtful of his artist: the customary amount paid in advance was only half the total. Before he went to Carrara, in fact, Greenough apparently drew on his patron for $50 to cover the cost of materials. On receipt of the bust in marble Gilmor seems to have offered Greenough another $100, which the sculptor refused because the model was " so munificently paid." [8] The account was handled, like all others between Gilmor and Greenough, by Grant, Pillans, and Company in Leghorn.

The subject of the second commission, the statue, was discussed between Gilmor and Greenough at intervals for nearly three years, in which time they considered virtually all possible sculptural traditions: mythological, pastoral, historical, Biblical, idealistic, and romantic. Gilmor's original idea of a Venus was soon abandoned, for before Greenough left for Italy he submitted sketches of a shepherd boy, Sappho, and Jacob and Rebecca. None pleased Gilmor so well, however, as the group of Cherubs which Greenough began soon after his return to Florence for Cooper, copying a detail in Raphael's Madonna del Baldacchino. Gilmor wished he had thought of the subject first, and he searched through engravings of old masters hoping to have a comparable inspiration. The attitude was typical of the romantic fusion of distinctively separate art forms. Failing to satisfy himself, he wrote to Green-

[5] Horatio to Henry, Sept. 16, 1829.

[6] Greenough to Washington Allston, Nov. 17, 1829 (Massachusetts Historical Society). It was packed when Gilmor's nephew Robert tried to see it on Feb. 8 Robert Gilmor (1808-75), Diary (Maryland Historical Society).

[7] Greenough to Allston, Sept. 19, 1829 (Massachusetts Historical Society).

[8] Greenough to Gilmor, July 25, 1833.

ough toward the end of 1829 stipulating only a figure three or four feet high, preferably female and partially draped, though leaving the sculptor considerable liberty about these matters.[9] Greenough's suggestion for such a size was a girl of about nine years, since he thought "adult forms on a small scale produced but a mean effect unless decidedly in miniature." [10]

Meanwhile the difficulties of carrying on a correspondence across the Atlantic Ocean began to complicate the negotiations. Greenough had finally conceived the subject of the dead Medora, the bride of the Corsair in Byron's poem, and had communicated it to Gilmor in a letter written probably in February, 1830, which apparently crossed Gilmor's letter proposing the miniature figure. But this letter of Greenough's was lost, and Gilmor evidently did not learn of the idea until nearly a year later. Apparently he rejected the nine-year old girl in favor of a boy he had found in one of the pictures of the Madonna, which he desired to have copied in marble so that it would hold a lamp or vase. He was still trying, it would seem, to acquire a work which would have the sure reputation of the past and at the same time rival Cooper's in novelty. And for once, at any rate, he succumbed to the temptation besetting Anglo-Saxons in general to unite art and utility.

Unable to identify the boy, Greenough modelled in the winter of 1830/31 a figure to fit Gilmor's description. But he felt that the necessity of making it support a vase "cramped very much that latitude in composition so dear to the imagination," [11] and though the figure met the approval of those to whom he showed it (among them Samuel F. B. Morse, then travelling in Italy) it did not excite the sensation that the Cherubs had. Determined that Gilmor's figure should be his "best work up to the date of its production at all events" and encouraged by the freedom granted him in the letter Gilmor wrote, presumably after hearing his proposal of Medora, Greenough abandoned the vase-holder about April, 1831, and began the study of a figure of Byron's heroine.

"Here," he wrote Gilmor, "I can unite beauty to touching interest and a convenient form for your house to novelty—I . . . can do what has not been done in Italy for many years—attempt

[9] Greenough to Cooper, March 5, 1830 (Yale University).
[10] Greenough to Gilmor, April 25, 1830.
[11] This and the next two quotations are from Greenough to Gilmor, April 12, 1831.

to interest and charm the eye and mind with a female form without appealing to the baser passions—." The subject also had a contemporaneousness which the others considered did not have, and, especially in the sculptor's immediate circle, it capitalized on Byron's still vivid memory. The poet's death was five and his Florentine residence six years past when Greenough first proposed to represent Medora in marble. Both Thorwaldsen and Bartolini executed busts of Byron, and Greenough finished one by 1834.[12] It is possible, indeed, that the sculptor was more enthusiastic about the subject finally agreed upon than was his patron.

Greenough's design for his statue of Medora was a nearly life-size, recumbent figure over which a cloth had been thrown so as to leave the upper part exposed; one hand lay over her heart and the other, at her side, clasped flowers as Byron had detailed.[13] Her features were reported to have been an idealization of his own.[14] The " soul " of the figure was best described, he said, in the lines from Petrarch's " Trionfo della Morte " which compare Laura's death to the extinguishing of a light rather than a flame.[15] The statue was thus doubly inspired by poetic conceptions—an example of the dominance throughout this period of the literary over the plastic arts.

By October, 1831, the model was completed and points were being taken for it in the marble, and by June, 1832, Greenough was applying the finishing touches. He had only minor interruptions—such as the time his female servant and an accomplice stole the muslin shroud, along with two pairs of his pantaloons.[16] And he began to feel for the first time master of his art. This was his first original " poetical " piece. Grateful as he had been for the Cooper commission, he recognized the design of the Cherubs as essentially a copy, and he felt that to have made another copy of any work at this time would have been " morally impossible." [17] The head of the Medora alone, he thought, would be worth the Cherubs. He worked " with a strength and a motive . . . never felt before," not having to " spur " himself, but only

[12] Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Italian Sketch Book* (Boston, 1837), p. 259.
[13] The Boston newspapers described the statue at the time of its exhibition; see particularly the *Daily Advertiser & Patriot*, Oct. 25, 1833.
[14] R. W. Emerson, " English Traits."
[15] Greenough to Cooper, Nov. [Dec.] 8, 1831 (Yale University).
[16] Greenough to Cooper, June 28, 1832 (Yale University).
[17] Greenough to Gilmor, Jan. 13, 1832.

" to laisser aller." [18] Nevertheless, chiefly because of the illness of his brother Henry, then in Florence, in the fall of 1832 and also the excitement of his receiving and replying to the offer of a commission for the statue of Washington for the United States Capitol that year, the figure did not leave his studio until the last of April or first of May, 1833.[19] Yet Gilmor evidently did not chide, and he was capable of writing letters in which, with a delicacy which did not escape the sculptor's appreciative notice, he did not even mention his long overdue statue.[20]

In the letter he wrote Gilmor announcing the Medora's dispatch Greenough, always attentive to the lighting of his work, urged that a single, veiled light, falling at a twenty-five or thirty degree angle, be directed on it. And, conscious as he always was of his profession as an exalted one and of a public national in scope and even in part unborn, he relinquished the work with these characteristic words: " I have never allowed myself to bestow on it my jaded or ineffective moments. It has been a great object with me to perfect it. I now leave it to yourself and to the Public to judge it." [21]

Long before the Medora was finished the sculptor found he had underestimated, as he so often did, the expenses of his work. His price was $500, which seems to have been about twice what Gilmor originally intended to pay. When he proposed the nine-year old girl he named the sum of $550, but so desirous was he of satisfying his patron that he offered to take only $400 for it, paying back $150 out of receipts from its exhibition. Actually he drew upon Gilmor for $700 for the Medora, over $400 of it by the end of 1830 (before the design was decided on) and the rest by the end of 1832, but $200 of this amount he proposed to repay from exhibition receipts. In the final account, however, Greenough's expenditures for Gilmor's paintings approximately equalled this overdraft and the sculptor owed his patron only about $45. The credit of $5,000 which he received from the United States government in 1833 as the first payment on his Washington statue had in the meantime relieved his immediate need.

The system then in vogue of exhibiting works of art for the

[18] Greenough to Cooper, Nov. [Dec.] 8, 1831 (Yale University).
[19] Thomas H. Cabot, Diary, March 10, 1833 (Massachusetts Historical Society); Greenough to Cooper, May 15, 1833 (Yale University).
[20] Greenough to Cooper, May 28, 1832 (Yale University).
[21] Greenough to Gilmor, July 25, 1833.

benefit of the artist never proved very lucrative for Greenough. His group of Cherubs, exhibited in 1832, netted about $400,[22] and the Medora receipts could hardly have been more. The statue was first shown in Boston, at his request, from October 24 through December 31, 1833. Under the management of his brother Alfred,[23] who seems to have been in a constant state of anxiety lest something happen to it, the rooms of Chester Harding the painter were obtained, hours were arranged from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., single tickets were sold for twenty-five cents and season tickets for half a dollar, printed extracts from the poem were given out at the door. By the first of December some two thousand persons had attended.[24] At first the morning hours were exclusively for women, but a male season ticket holder who was accustomed to visit the statue every day was so outraged because two ladies walked out in a huff when he appeared one morning that the segregation was abandoned.[25]

Most of the dozen Boston newspapers carried notices as well as advertisements of the exhibition, all written in the untechnical, impressionistic, and literary tradition of the current art criticism, and all highly flattering. The sombre subject of the statue and the modesty of its drapery precluded the sort of flippant and prudish remarks which had been made about the Chanting Cherubs. Greenough's friend Richard Henry Dana contributed to the *Independent Chronicle* a short essay on the thoughts about death and the sensations aroused by his contemplation of the work. He also wrote a poem, as he had done about the Cherubs, entitled "The Medora," whose final stanza echoed a Keatsian theme:

> "—When he that gave thee form, is gone,
> And I within the earth shall lie,
> Thou still shalt softly slumber on—
> Too fair to live—too beautiful to die!" [26]

The *Transcript's* correspondent thought the subject of the statue

[22] Greenough to Samuel Cabot, Nov. 12, 1832 (Massachusetts Historical Society).
[23] Alfred to Gilmor, Oct. 3, 1833, June 28, 1834 (New York Historical Society).
[24] *Boston Mercantile Journal*, Dec. 2, 1833.
[25] *Boston Courier*, Dec. 12, 14, 1833.
[26] Dec. 7, 1833. The next four citations are to the *Transcript*, Oct. 31, 1833 (on Oct. 7 this paper also printed a letter from a Bostonian in Florence praising the statue); the *Daily Advertiser & Patriot*, Nov. 9, 1833 (on Oct. 25 this paper also printed a long article, the *Courier*, Oct. 29, 1833; "Sculpture," *The New-England Magazine*, V (Dec., 1833), 484-485.

peculiarly appropriate to the art of sculpture because of its repose, and was so enraptured that he declared when the old gentleman died from whom he hoped to inherit a fortune he would employ Greenough to execute a group of Conrad and Gulnare from the same poem. " P." in Nathan Hale's *Daily Advertiser* had feared the sculptor could not do justice to the poet's conception but was happy to find the two arts united, as he thought, it being in his estimation " the highest and most beautiful effort of genius to strengthen the sympathy between the sister arts, to make them harmonize and depend on each other."

The longest and most enthusiastic article appeared in the *Courier*, whose founder J. T. Buckingham was noted for his support of the arts. Signed simply " C.," it may have been written by George C. Hillard. The author praised the statue chiefly on the romantic hypothesis that " Our sources of most intense feeling, are connected with suffering " and analyzed the appeal of the subject, in a manner very much like Poe's, as being " the contrast between the perfect tranquility and quietude, ' the rapture of repose,' and the sorrows of moral life, or the agony of death," combined with " the idea of female beauty." His conclusions, however, upset this nice esthetic balance by citing the Medora as proof that the fine arts were not always " degraded to purposes of impurity and vice " and were " susceptible . . . of serving higher and better ends."

Hillard probably also wrote the article in Buckingham's *New-England Magazine* for December, 1833, on sculpture, which was largely devoted to the praise of Greenough's work, particularly his Medora. The author reported that Homer was Greenough's " constant companion," and with more objectivity than some other critics observed that the sculptor " has evidently benefited very much by his classical taste in literature. He is perfectly free from fantastic ornaments, and tasteless trickery; he shows a preference of the pure and the simple over the gaudy and ornate; he confines himself strictly to the legitimate objects of his art."

Some New York papers also, notably Bryant's *Post* and the *American*, both favorable to artists, printed notices of the Medora exhibition in Boston, and the *American* quoted passages from the *New-England Magazine.*

The efforts of Alfred Greenough and Gilmor to have the statue exhibited elsewhere, however, were on the whole unsuccessful.

In New York Gilmor applied to John Trumbull, president of the American Academy, whom Alfred had gotten to show the Chanting Cherubs; the Baltimorean was probably unaware of the altercation which that arrangement had precipitated between Greenough, who had more connections with the rival National Academy of Design, and Samuel Morse, its president.[27] Even so his failure to place the statue anywhere in the city is evidence of the discrepancy which existed between the avowed aim of both academies to aid native artists and their ability to carry out this aim.

In Philadelphia Gilmor tried Rubens Peale, owner of Peale's Museum; James Earle, carver and gilder, and Thomas Sully, the portrait painter, who jointly had a gallery of paintings; and James McMurtrie, art patron. Though he offered them half the receipts of the exhibition none would risk it. He therefore had the statue brought directly to Baltimore by sea, the safest route, in June, 1834, where it was shown, probably in the popular fall season, by an exhibitor in Market Street, the receipts being equally divided between him and Greenough.[28] It does not seem to have been advertised or commented upon in the Baltimore papers.

When at last the statue reached its owner's mansion, the awkward discovery was made that there seemed to be no appropriate place for it, and eight months later it was still unopened.[29] Mortified, Greenough offered to take it back or to give Gilmor in exchange the small allegorical statue of Love Prisoner which he had recently completed. But Gilmor preferred to keep his own. His annotation on one of the sculptor's letters referring to " the fine statue of Medora in my possession " [30] is proof of his pleasure in it. There was, one feels sure, a sensational appropriateness in the costume in which Mrs. Gilmor attended a fancy dress ball in Baltimore in February, 1837: she went as Medora, clad in a white muslin dress, with no ornaments and her hair falling down to her feet.[31]

A third commission which Greenough superintended for Gilmor, though he did not execute it himself, was the reproduction

[27] Greenough to Morse, Jan. 5, 1831 [1832] (Library of Congress); Greenough to Cooper, Jan. 14, 1832 (Yale University).

[28] Gilmor's annotation on Greenough's letter of June 10, 1832; Alfred to Gilmor, June 28, 1834.

[29] Edward Everett, Diary, March 11, 1835 (Massachusetts Historical Society).

[30] Gilmor's annotation on Greenough's letter of Oct. 10, 1831.

[31] " Mrs. B. I. Cohen's Fancy Dress Party," *The Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 354.

of Mrs. Gilmor's profile, taken from the bust, in a cameo. Gilmor seems to have ordered it in his letter of October 24, 1830, and he thought it might be done by G. A. Santarelli of Florence, who made a model for him many years before. But that artist was dead, the subject was no longer taught in the Academy, and in consequence the art was virtually a lost one in Florence. The work was done, it seems, in Rome in the spring of 1832 and finished by the help of Thomas Cole, the painter. Cole, who lived with Greenough in Florence in 1831, was also a protégé of Gilmor's.

In addition to furnishing Gilmor with two new marbles and a cameo for his collection, Greenough also purchased for him several older objects of art. Before leaving America he apparently sent from Boston engravings of the Arabesques of Raphael's Loggia. From Italy there were four shipments. The first was evidently a gift—a salver and vase cast in scagliola from a piece of plate by Cellini and possibly a few old silver coins, which went in May, 1829. In the fall of 1830 he sent a copy of a landscape by Salvator Rosa made by the nephew of Luigi Sabatelli and, as a curiosity, a painting of battle scenes on slate or marble which had been in the celebrated Torregiani collection. The next April he dispatched his chief purchase—an original Repose in Egypt by Francesco Albani, once the property of Count Lozzi of Florence. He got it for 112 francesconi and Morse thought it would have been cheap at $500. Yet neither of them discovered the traces of restoration which met Gilmor's practiced eye. Finally in the summer of 1833 Greenough sent a case containing a copy of a portrait of Michelangelo by one of the Albanis, two landscapes on copper by Zuccherelli, and some miscellaneous carvings. Altogether he expended 201 francesconi.

In his role as a collector's agent Greenough was eager to gratify Gilmor's every desire—as he always agreeably tried to help his countrymen buy European art even when they would not patronize American artists. But unlike most of these collectors Gilmor was not satisfied with copies. His orders of "old masters," Cellinis, and Fiammingos—and more than once for a Venus like "Mr. Derby's" (probably Elias Haskett)—were hard to fill. In the long political peace, as Greenough observed, the uninterrupted flow of wealthy travelers in Italy had made the sale of art objects a flourishing business. He complained that the English, who

spent prodigally, kept prices up, and the Italians were notoriously tricky to negotiate with. Moreover Greenough had neither the eye nor the speculative instinct for purchasing originals. He rejected a $100 Rosa and a $250 Van der Werf as too high, and he failed to recognize a Tintoretto copy of Titian's Peter the Martyr when it was offered at the bargain price of $30. It was a quarter of a century before the first genuine connoisseur of Italian art, James Jackson Jarves, arrived in Florence.

Most of the Greenough-Gilmor correspondence was devoted to details connected with the collector's orders and the artist's fulfillment of them. Yet not all of it was. Gilmor proferred advice both on his young friend's health and study of art. Greenough relayed news of art and artists in Italy—of the Americans Cole, Morse, and Peale, the Italians Bartolini, Bezzuoli, and Ricci, and of Thorwaldsen—and reported his own activities and prospects; both he and Cooper asked Gilmor to recommend him for a government commission.[32]

And in almost every letter Greenough revealed his most salient characteristics: his intense ambition and, as Gilmor put it, " his modesty & grateful heart for the smallest kindness shewn him." [33] He could be overcome with self-pity, as when he virtually apologized for charging Gilmor with the items purchased for his collection: " God knows my Dear Sir I would fain fill your collection with chef d'œuvres—nor should I feel that I had done more than my duty toward you—You took me by the hand when I was inexperienced and poor and in ill health. I am not a man to forget these kindnesses." [34] But he was also independent enough to declare that " the brightest day I have long seen will be that when I shall be able to refund what has been advanced me."

He looked upon himself not as an isolated or private artist but the first American—as he was—to practice the profession of sculpture, and he was as conscious of those to follow him as of his own efforts. " I am," he declared, " the pioneer of a band which I doubt not will hereafter enrich and beautify the cities of the Republic. I am warmed with the thought that if I seize on the right path they will do me the honour of having begun well."

[32] Cooper to J. S. Skinner, June 26, 1831 (Pennsylvania Historical Society).
[33] Gilmor to Mayer, Aug. 29, 1848.
[34] Greenough to Gilmor, June 10, 1832. The next six quotations are from Greenough's letters to Gilmor of the following dates: April 25, 1830; Feb. 25, 1829; April 25, 1830; May 16, 1829; Feb. 25, 1829.

On another occasion he wrote, " I hope, sir, and I believe, that I shall become useful to my nation as an artist and that the day will arrive when young Americans, devoting themselves to the art, will find in my study that instruction in the rudiments of Sculpture, to obtain which I have travelled so far & have spent so much time and money."

But there were many less confident moments. " I would to God," he exclaimed to Gilmor shortly after meeting Cooper, " that my power and my talent were equal to my love of my art that I might the better do honour to the favourable opinions of both of you." " I think I may hope," he ventured, " to become ultimately a respectable artist. But I am sensible that it will require the whole force, the utmost strain of the faculties given me to effect it." As he prepared to begin Mrs. Gilmor's bust in marble, he promised to " work with zeal, with gratitude, and if it were what I would fain make it for your sake I should indeed be an artist."

Whether or not patron and sculptor met again on the sculptor's visits to America in 1836 and 1842/43 is not known. Possibly they did at the latter date, for Greenough and his wife spent most of eight months in Washington and Wilmington, Delaware. When Greenough returned in 1851, however, Gilmor was dead. He left no children and the precarious condition of his estate necessitated the sale, in 1849, of his collection. His wife, who returned to her native Charleston, South Carolina, took Greenough's bust with her, and it has remained in the possession of her family in that state.[35] But the fate of the statue of Medora, like that of many of the paintings and objects of art in Gilmor's collection, is unknown. The fact is testimony of perhaps the greatest hazard of all risked by early American artists and patrons alike: neither fortunes nor families in the still new world were sufficiently well established to preserve what they could accumulate.

[35] Now in the possession of Mrs. Grover Cleveland Edwards, Inman, S. C.

A BALTIMORE ESTATE: GUILFORD AND ITS THREE OWNERS

By J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul

LOOK at a present-day map of Baltimore and you will see two arterial thoroughfares, St. Paul Street and Calvert Street, running north from the heart of the city in uncompromising straightness until, reaching University Parkway, their rigidity is refracted into sweeping curves. Other parallel streets fall into harmonious relation with these two, so that the region bounded on the north by Cold Spring Lane, on the west by Charles Street extended, and on the west by Greenmount Avenue—in other words, the tract known as Guilford—is seen to be served by roads following the graceful lines of natural contours. This happy state of affairs is due to the genius of the late Edward H. Bouton, who was able to convince a group of public spirited men who had bought the tract for development that practical considerations could be profitably combined with respect for beauty.

However, before getting involved in what should properly be the last chapter of the history of this tract let us take a retrospective glance far beyond the days when its 296 acres were assembled under the name it now bears. Title research shows it to be made up of parts of ten separate patents [1] granted by the

* Acknowledgment of indebtedness should be made to Mr. Francis Foulke Beirne and the late Mr. B. Latrobe Weston; also to Mr. William Bose Marye, who gave invaluable assistance in establishing the early patents.

[1] A list of these patents is as follows:

(1) Merryman's Lot, patented in 1689 to Charles Merryman and Nicholas Hale, 210 acres.
(2) Merryman's Addition, patented in 1695 to Charles Merryman, 120 acres.
(3) Sheredine's Discovery, patented in 1743 to William Chetwynd and others, 1900 acres.
(4) Bryan's Chance, patented in 1743 to Henry Morgan, 50 acres.
(5) Ridgely's Whim, patented in 1745 to Charles Ridgely, 990 acres.
(6) Huntington, patented in 1748 to John Edwards, 135 acres, the original warrant of survey for 2000 acres having been issued in 1688 to Thomas Richardson.
(7) Garrison's Meadows, patented in 1770 to Job Garrison, 52 acres.

Lord Proprietor or by the State of Maryland. A considerable portion of the tract was "confiscated British property," sold by Commissioners appointed by the State of Maryland in 1780 to confiscate and sell the property of British subjects in retaliation for acts of confiscation by Great Britain.

In the latest of these patents, granted in 1822, we come across the name of an extraordinary individual, Ebenezer S. Thomas, a rolling stone torn loose in early life from rocky Massachusetts. At the age of thirteen he left his father's home in Lancaster and went to live with his uncle Isaiah Thomas, the distinguished printer-patriot of Worcester, where he learned the printer's trade in a rather hard apprenticeship. In 1795, an experienced youth of nearly twenty, he left Boston for South Carolina, where he plunged into the book business. His energy, charm and intelligence, his readiness to shift the course of his life at short notice, combined with an ability to induce others to do likewise, seemed to break down all barriers as he moved from one activity to another. There was no containing such a young man: once in Charleston his roving eye turned back to Rhode Island, and we next find him in Providence consorting with the merchant princes, yet keeping intact his ties with the South. In 1805, wintering in Charleston, he "very unexpectedly got married to Miss Fonerden, a daughter of Adam Fonerden, Esq., of Baltimore, who was on her way to Italy with her sister and brother-in-law."[2] A year later, he writes "I went with my wife to visit her relatives in Baltimore, whom I had never seen. These prevailed upon me to quit Providence and come and reside in Baltimore . . . in the neighborhood of which I had already bought a farm,[3] which I immediately began to improve. I had got it into fine condition when the long embargo came on, which brought produce down the next year [1809] to less than half the usual prices. I continued on it working from sunrise to dusk until November, when one day my two carters returning from town with the loads they had taken

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(8) Cox's Paradise, patented in 1773 to James Cox, 46 acres.
(9) Nelson's Traverse, patented in 1803 to Joseph Merryman, 3 acres.
(10) Thomasville, patented in 1822 to Ebenezer S. Thomas, 36 acres.
These mellow names of persons and places will possibly interest some present-day land owners in Guilford, who may discover they are living on ancestral acres.

[2] E. S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-five Years, . . . Also Sketches of His own Life and Times*, 2 vols., (Hartford, 1840).

[3] Part of the tract later known as "Guilford."

in and could not dispose of at any price, I in a moment determined to return to Charleston."

We are not told in the memoirs whether the former Miss Fonerden was ordered, like Lady Burton, to " pay, pack and follow," or whether she was left to tend the farm while her husband, now owner of the Charleston *Gazette*, was up to his neck in South Carolina journalism and politics. His account of the next seven years is like a slowly mounting fever chart, with Thomas going the hot-blooded Southerners one better until an orthodox climax was reached in an attempt on his life. One thing is certain: he enjoyed every minute of it. He had made a host of friends as well as some hearty enemies, and there is no cause to doubt his statement that his only reason for leaving Charleston was the villainous summer climate of that city.

Back in Baltimore was the refuge of the farm, and thither he repaired. It was now Thomas's intention to devote his whole energies to practical and experimental agriculture. After enlarging his landholdings to provide an adequate stage for these activities he proceeded to try out " the best seeds of corn, small grain and grasses," and procured seventeen different kinds of wheat in one year, mostly from the Mediterranean. In furtherance of these researches he took a long trip to Europe, where he met as an equal many great landholders, studied their methods of farming, and returned to Baltimore laden with agricultural spoils. " I had upwards of one hundred and fifty kinds of field and garden seeds," he writes, " more than fifty of which were new in the United States; also hay-makers, that with one man and a horse made hay as fast as ten men cut it; broadcast sowing machines; Northumberland drills, etc., with five hundred volumes of large and valuable books on agriculture." Thomas's progressive and public-spirited attitude toward cultivation of the land reminds one strongly of Thomas Jefferson. He had attracted the respectful attention of specialists in this country and abroad; his Baltimore farm, planted to all kinds of fruits and coming into full production, promised him a livelihood. However, his tremendous vitality and wide interests drew him into the field of politics[4] and speculative finance, with the results that on returning from England he found

[4] In August, 1817, Thomas was nominated by a Baltimore County convention for a seat in the State legislature, and was elected by a large majority. He took part in the debates on the celebrated " Jew Bill."

all his real and leasehold estate in the hands of the sheriff. He succeeded in escaping a forced sale, but in the face of dropping real-estate values he sold his farm, which had cost him $20,000 and which he loved dearly, for something under $10,000.

The beginning of the end of Thomas's Baltimore sojourn was at hand. " I continued to struggle against wind and tide," he writes, " until the spring of 1827, when unable to bear up any longer, I gave up the remainder of my property to pay my debts, which were seven thousand five hundred. Judge Shriver told me no such return, or any to compare with it, had ever been made in that court before. Under these impressions I left Baltimore and with my large family went to Cincinnati. They came from Charleston to Baltimore fourteen years before in their own coach and four horses; and from Baltimore they went to Wheeling in a hired wagon and five. I walked it."

If I have dwelt on Ebenezer Thomas' career in Baltimore, it is partly because he is so much more interesting, in his intelligence and charm and instability, than the man who bought his farm at such a ruinous bargain. This man was named William McDonald; he was born in Scotland in 1758, of unknown antecedents, came early to America and took part in the War of the Revolution. As an officer in the Fourth Georgia Line he was wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House in North Carolina. The war over, he came to Baltimore, where he found his way into the business of land and water transportation between Baltimore and Philadelphia. (Sailing vessels carried passengers from Baltimore to Frenchtown at the head of Chesapeake Bay, whence they were taken overland to New Castle on the Delaware and thence by water to Philadelphia, a trip often taking two days or more.) McDonald's advertisements in the Baltimore papers showed growing prosperity and assurance, and a series of amalgamations and consolidations brought him into the front rank of the local business world. Like so many men of his time, McDonald speculated in real estate, but so far as is known he took no steps toward setting himself up as a landed proprietor until 1822, when he bought the Thomas farm. This he christened Guilford in honor of the scars he bore from the battle of that name. A lyrical advertisement in the *American and Commercial Advertiser*, inserted by Thomas when he was trying to sell the property, mentions " a good stone dwelling house," and it is to this that McDonald proba-

bly took his second bride, Martha Webb, whom he married in 1824 in his sixty-fourth year. The same advertisement states that the wood on the property "would sell on the ground for more than half of what would be taken for the farm"—a tempting hint which McDonald, with a Scotchman's reverence for fine trees, evidently refused to take—for oaks are still standing in Guilford which were well grown when McDonald took over.

A Reconstruction Drawing of the Original Guilford House Occupied by William McDonald.

More than a century has passed since that time, and no record survives of the treatment accorded the beautiful farm by its new owner. It was probably kept up well and made to yield bountifully, but it would appear that the General [5] applied himself to business and to consolidating his fortune, leading meanwhile a relatively simple life. The grandeur that blossomed at Guilford certainly took shape after his death in 1845, at which time all classes of citizens united in according him the honors of a great military and civilian funeral. His fortune, a very large one indeed for those days, was apportioned equably between his wife, his son Samuel (child of his first marriage) and his son William, fifteen

[5] This was a courtesy title, conferred in later life. In the War of 1812 McDonald had again taken up arms and in 1814 commanded the Sixth Regiment of Maryland Infantry at the Battle of North Point, but his highest military rank was that of Lieutenant Colonel.

years of age when the General died. What is of interest here is that the estate of Guilford, with ample provision for its maintenance, was bequeathed to William in sole ownership. It seems strange that the General, a shrewd and hard-headed man, had not taken time to consider the gay pleasure-loving character of his younger son and the danger of confirming to him, at an early age, the certainty of a great inheritance. There were four trustees to advise young William until he reached his majority, but when that day arrived he lost no time in throwing himself wholeheartedly into sport, travel, and the building up of a lordly domain at Guilford. In this respect his ambition seems to have been simply to own the largest house ever built in Baltimore, and Edmund G. Lind, an able British architect associated with William T. Murdoch, was summoned to help him achieve this end. A commanding site on the highest ground in Guilford[6] was selected and about 1852 a vast structure, in the Italianate taste, began to rise. Fifty rooms it contained, mounting in three stories to a soaring cupola, and although it avoided the worst ginger-bread excesses of the period, the architect was evidently hard put to it to diversify the great mass with balconies, porches, and bay windows. It gave the appearance of being a frame house, but it is said that the wood was laid over walls of solid masonry. An elaboration of woodwork, mantels and cornices flourished inside the big rooms, and, in the fashion of the day, there was much built-in furniture, largely of black walnut, with carpets woven specially to the dimensions of the main rooms. This was supplemented by shipments of furniture and *objets de vertu* collected by young McDonald (now known universally as "Billy") on trips to Europe, which were staged with Byronic splendor. The death in 1858 of Samuel McDonald, Billy's half brother, brought him an additional million dollars; from that time on the expenditure at Guilford was limited only by the owner's imagination.

No record, unfortunately, survives of the skillful man who laid out the grounds to the best advantage of the noble trees; who diverted the streams into a boating-lake which filled the little valley where Stratford Green now lies; who built ranges of greenhouses and graperies on the sunny east slope overlooking the lake. The landscaping was in the naturalistic style of Repton, which drew away from the free use of architecture and terracing; even

[6] Where the dwellings 208-212 Wendover Road now stand.

around the house the owner was content to see only informal paths with occasional statues in the allegorical vein. Billy McDonald's real interests lay some distance to the north of the mansion where there appeared an immense rectangular stable of brick, furnished forth with boxstalls and a tanbark track encircling a marble fountain. This was the abode of pure-blooded Arabian horses and of the less pedigreed, but more famous Flora Temple, " Queen of the Turf." As Billy McDonald's name survives largely as owner of this mare, it might be said here that she was foaled in 1845 on the farm of a resident of Madison County, New York, who, finding her skittish and unmanageable, sold her in a fit of temper to a drover for thirteen dollars. Something about her attracted the attention of a keen-eyed horseman; she was bought for $175 and after passing through several hands she began in 1852 to work her way up on the race track. In 1858 Billy McDonald bought her for $8,000; the next year, in a race at Kalamazoo, she surpassed all previous records of the track by trotting a mile in 2 minutes 19¾ seconds. Her grateful owner installed her in the Guilford stables in a four-roomed apartment with dining room, bath room, reception room and boudoir. On festive occasions he rode her into the immense halls of his residence, to the uproarious applause of the guests.

When the Civil War came on, it is not recorded that the Lord of Guilford chose to emulate his father's military career, though he was arrested and locked up for a brief stay in Fort McHenry on the charge of signalling to the Confederates from the cupola of his house. Shortly after this, in September, 1864, he fell victim to a violent inflammation of the lungs and died before his thirty-fifth birthday, mourned by great numbers of rich and poor alike, for he had been a genial and picturesque young man. He left a widow, a son Samuel, a daughter and what was still a large fortune in spite of the inroads he had made on it.

Here, again, the records fail us. We know that Mrs. McDonald traveled much abroad, and that she soon married a Belgian gentleman named de Speyer; we also know that young Samuel, for whom former Governor William Pinkney Whyte had been appointed guardian, early developed tendencies to " wildness " which culminated suddenly and tragically when he was brought to trial in 1874 on the charge of murder committed in a water-front brawl. The affair naturally created a tremendous stir in Baltimore, in-

volving as it did a family of such great prominence and wealth, and the trial was reported in detail by the press of the city. The newspaper men assigned to the case were skilled writers, and in reading the yellowing pages it is interesting to note how much more effective as a vehicle of horror and suspense is their restrained, selective coverage than the unbridled realism of present-day journalism. The defense summoned a formidable battery of legal talent, including Governor Whyte and Richard Gittings, leaders of the Baltimore bar; the prosecution was headed by J. Frederick Cockey Talbott, a young man of thirty-five, who lived to be considered the shrewdest politician in Maryland. Governor Whyte's opening speech, delivered with rolling impressiveness, is worth quoting, if only for its astonishing reasoning:

"The sternest of men," he boomed, "when called upon in the defense of one charged with the great crime of murder, feel the greatest of all responsibilities. You can understand with what anxiety I have entered into this case. In addition to a long life of experience in the law there was added the fact that the prisoner was a dear friend. Ten years ago I stood at the door of a palatial residence and saw a youth wearing the badges of mourning. Left fatherless and with a large fortune, I thought what temptations he would be subjected to from those who follow wealthy youths. Called professionally to counsel the mother, I told her to send him across the ocean, that he might be freed of these American influences. He went, and there remained until he neared his majority, then went to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he purchased a stock farm, and was only in Baltimore as a visitor, where he lingered unfortunately." [7]

During this reprieve from his Indiana rustication, Samuel McDonald had gathered with some "sporting" friends in the private dining room of a water-front tavern when he was told that one Berry Amos had entered the bar-room downstairs. There was bad blood between the two men. McDonald came downstairs, and there were witnesses to say he drew a knife as he descended and went over to where Amos was drinking. Hot words were exchanged, followed by confusion. Was Amos stabbed savagely by McDonald then and there, or was the stabbing done after the crowd surged out into the night on the bridge over Jones's Falls? If it was the latter, who could prove McDonald had done the

[7] Baltimore *Sun,* Oct. 8, 1874.

stabbing? Here was the point on which the defense centered its attack. Strange characters from the underworld, Dostoievskian urchins and simpletons testified and contradicted the testimony of others. The end was foreseeable, but the victory was not an easy one for the defense; the trial lasted five days, and then young McDonald was set free to return to the salubrious air of Indiana. Two years later he died there. As a footnote to his brief career, it might be added that in the possession of one of Governor Whyte's descendants is a hunting knife of fine English steel. In the leather sheath is a bit of yellowed paper reading "Knife with which McDonald killed Amos."

In 1872 Guilford, with all the contents of the house, was sold by Mrs. de Speyer, widow of William McDonald, to Arunah Shepherdson Abell, publisher of the Baltimore *Sun*. For 258 acres he paid the sum of $461,205. Mr. Abell already owned a large country estate, "Woodbourne," and a city home at the corner of Charles and Madison Streets, and it is the opinion of surviving members of his family that he bought Guilford primarily as an investment. Certain it is that although he spent his summers there until his death in 1888, he never entrenched himself deeply. His many sons and daughters are all dead, but some of his grandchildren can tell of the pleasant, informal family life that went on in the immense house. The facts of Mr. Abell's active life are too well known to need repetition here. He was a genius in the field of journalism, and is entitled to a place beside Northcliffe, Hearst and Pulitzer. Like them he was capable of flashes of prophetic insight followed by decisive action. At the time he purchased Guilford he was at the height of his career; coming home weary in the evening he sought quiet and relaxation, and was constrained to apply gentle organization to his family of ten children. At breakfast, where they all assembled regularly, it appears that no one spoke unless addressed by the head of the house. His youngest daughter Margaret (later Mrs. John Irving Griffiss) read the *Sun* aloud while they sat at table.[8] Family parties rather than formal entertaining were the rule, and pictures survive showing that the art of getting pleasure from simple things had not been lost: there were boats full of young people on the lake, pretty girls on horseback, croquet parties in

[8] For this anecdote, I should like to give credit to Miss Katherine Scarborough, who has written delightfully of life in Guilford.

the shade of the huge oaks near the house, strolls to the greenhouses or to the farm—an easy-going, summery life.

Mr. Abell died in 1888. Although there was some division of property at that time, Guilford remained in the family and was used for some years as a summering place. However, many of the young people married and left home; the difficulties of maintaining so large an establishment near a rapidly growing city increased, and in 1907 Mr. Abell's heirs agreed to sell it to the Guilford Park Company for $1,000,000. This decision was followed by a private sale of the contents of the house to members of the family, in whose homes many of the pieces of furniture are still to be seen. For some time after the property changed hands it was leased by the purchasers to Mr. Arunah Abell, grandson of the former owner, and his family, who stayed on until the work of putting through streets got under way. Although there were would-be purchasers of the old mansion, the Company decided that its great size and its outmoded style of architecture would be at variance with the houses planned for the new development, and it was demolished in 1914.

Shortly before the end of Mrs. Arunah Abell's tenure at Guilford, the writer and a friend paid an evening call there, entering the lion-guarded gates on Charles Street and strolling up the long driveway to the house. It was at the end of a suffocating midsummer day; as they came into the twilight of the great hallway there was a drop into coolness, like that of a Spanish church. Memory brings back the picture of enfiladed drawing-rooms with furniture sparsely scattered over vast areas of Chinese matting, and a broad staircase winding up into shadow. The architecture was of a period now frowned on, but it had style. Guilford had been conceived as the background for a spirited young man bent on having the biggest sort of a good time, and the visitors were saddened to think all this was about to be erased.

In setting the stage for living on the grand scale, sculptured lions have always played a definite part. They bring with them a suggestion of the baronial, the heraldic. At Guilford Billy McDonald treated himself to no less than eight of these noble animals: two in cast iron *regardant* at each of the gates of the estate, and four marble specimens, *couchant*, guarding the house. During her sojourn at Guilford, Mrs. Abell had formed a strong attachment for the lions, and when the property was sold she

reached an agreement with Mr. Bouton permitting her to take them all with her. Now Mrs. William Grafflin, wife of one of the chief stockholders of the purchasing company, had decided she could make use of the two lions at the Charles Street gate, and one day, to Mrs. Abell's great annoyance, they were mysteriously spirited away from their high perches, though they were very large and heavy. When Mrs. Abell learned they had been taken to Mrs. Grafflin's country place many miles distant she and her sons gave chase, with the necessary tackle; the lions were brought back to Guilford and taken into the house, where they were joined by the lions from the York Road gate, all four identical. Mrs. Abell then defied Mrs. Grafflin to come and pick out the beasts of her choice. This Mrs. Grafflin declined to do, preferring to have recourse to the law. The resulting suit was given wide publicity, to the delight of the citizenry of Baltimore. Mrs. Abell was the loser, the jury probably feeling that six lions were enough for one family. A pair of them may now be seen snoozing away at the door of the Abell home at 1119 Saint Paul Street.

The original members and chief stockholders of the Guilford Park Company, as it was first called, were William H. Grafflin (president), William A. Marburg, Thomas J. Hayward, Robert Garrett and H. Carroll Brown. Profit-making was not the sole aim of these purchasers, who were men of substantial means; they also had the purpose of preventing a beautiful tract of land, lying near the Johns Hopkins University, the new Episcopal Cathedral, and other fine projects, from being sold in small parcels for merely speculative building operations of the usual haphazard type. They determined that the property should be developed along the lines of the best modern methods of city planning, and T. T. Tongue, a prominent real-estate expert, was commissioned to prepare these plans and carry them out. Long before they had approached completion, however, Mr. Tongue died, and the members of the Company found themselves in considerable uncertainty as to how to proceed. Mr. Garrett, discussing this impasse recently, said that the seriousness of the situation weighed heavily on him while he was in training camp in 1911, and that one night the idea came to him with complete conviction that a consolidation must be effected between the Guilford Company and the Roland Park Company. The next day he left for Baltimore, consulted with his colleagues, and his suggestion was most fortunately adopted.

GUILFORD AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1890.

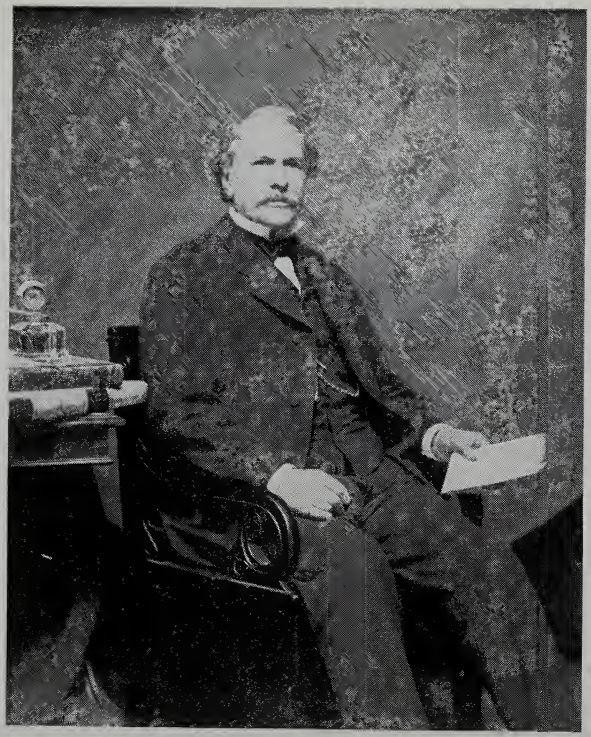
Gateway and Porter's Lodge at the York Road entrance to Guilford. A similar gate stood on Charles Street at the bend near Stratford Road.

Artificial lake created by William McDonald in the area now occupied by Stratford Green and Sherwood Gardens. To the left are the green houses and graperies built by McDonald.

FLORA TEMPLE (1845-1877)

Holder of the harness record for eight years. From a hand-colored lithograph after the W. F. Attwood painting, 1859. The lithograph was presented to the Maryland Historical Society in 1952 by Mr. Henry M. Walker.

A Guilford bedroom filled with trophies from William McDonald's voyages to Europe and the Orient.



ARUNAH SHEPHERDSON ABELL
(1806-1888)

Founder and publisher of the Baltimore *Sun*, who made his summer home at Guilford from 1872 until his death.

EDWARD HENRY BOUTON
(1859-1941)

Distinguished landscape architect and developer of Roland Park, Guilford, Homeland and other Baltimore suburbs.

A few years before this, one Edward H. Bouton, a young man from Kansas City with some real-estate experience and a surpassing gift for selling anything, had come to Baltimore in the employ of an English investors' syndicate who saw profit in the suburban growth of American cities. They had bought a tract of land north of Baltimore, the beginning of the later Roland Park, and Bouton had set to work when a financial panic scared the Britishers away. Bouton had some heavy going before new backers were found, but he had won his foothold and kept it. His twin gifts of ice-keen business ability and deep aesthetic and architectural appreciation united in a driving force not far short of genius. By the time the Guilford Company turned to him for help, his distinguished work in perfecting Roland Park as a restricted development was bringing people from all over the country to study what he had done. Bouton's first step in absorbing Guilford into the Roland Park Company was to call in Frederick Law Olmsted, the famous landscape architect, as consultant, for these two men saw eye to eye. The procedure followed was much the same as in Roland Park: a respectful study of the terrain, with the object of preserving to the utmost its natural beauty, a skillful subdivision into lots, an equally skillful list of restrictions based on the subordination of the interests of the individual owner to those of the neighborhood. Though Bouton came from the democratic Middle West, he was quick to see the importance of the so-called "social values" in conservative old cities like Baltimore, and showed uncanny acumen in inducing the "right people" to spearhead the new development.

A full page advertisement appeared in the Baltimore papers of May 9, 1913, stating that in ten days the sale of home sites in Guilford would begin. By December 1st of that year one-eighth of the entire development had been bought. In 1939 there were over 700 houses in the community, with only twenty-four lots left unsold. Today, practically all have been taken. Guilford is ripe, mellow; the scars of excavation, the litter of new building are gone, and the well-harmonized houses have settled down comfortably into a landscape that General McDonald's ghost could easily recognize as his former domain.

Beyond the horizon, however, a new order is working itself out. Immense earth-moving machines are preparing broad tracts for building purposes by obliterating all trees and inequalities of

surface that lend character to land. On these artificial deserts new forms of houses are rising by thousands to be purchased before completion by the dwellers in brick rows. The move to the suburbs first started by Bouton is fulfilling itself in a way that would have amazed and rather horrified him. As a natural corollary of this encirclement, numbers of more affluent citizens of the type who settled in Guilford are going further out to try their luck with "country" life. What will be the effect of this exodus on Guilford and its like? While waiting for the answer, we may as well divert ourselves with piecing together the fragments of the known past.

WAGES IN EARLY COLONIAL MARYLAND

By Manfred Jonas

AMERICAN colonial development, culminating in a popular revolution, produced a society significantly different from its European contemporaries. Some portion of this result must be attributed to alterations in the prevailing socio-economic structure brought about by the nature of life in the New World. Fundamental to an investigation of these changes is a consideration of wage rates, a subject which has been little explored to date. No study comparable to that which Elizabeth W. Gilboy undertook for eighteenth-century England [1] has been carried out for the British colonies on this side of the Atlantic. Instead, the pertinent material available in New England records has been used to derive generalizations regarding the overall situation in America.

Wages in the southern colonies have been considered by few writers and no one has made a thorough study. Even Philip A. Bruce, in preparing a still useful economic history of seventeenth-century Virginia,[2] devoted only negligible space to wages and attempted no statistical compilation. Careful examination of the published *Archives of Maryland* reveals sufficient information, however, to permit at least a tentative approach to the subject, and indicates clearly the obstacles in the path of a more comprehensive effort.[3] The difficulties are most apparent in a consideration of the period to 1676, a time which saw not only the development of the economic basis of the colony through the emergence of tobacco as a significant commodity on the world market, but also

[1] Elizabeth W. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1934).

[2] Philip A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1896).

[3] *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—). Volumes I-V, VII, VIII, XIII, XVII, XLI, XLIX, LI, LIII, LIV and LVII contain the wage data discussed here. Except where specific citations are made, all subsequent references to the *Archives* deal with information scattered through these volumes.

the passage of the first important colonial legislation by the mother country—the Act of 1651 and the First Navigation Act of 1660.

The number of persons who may properly be classified as wage earners in early Maryland is difficult to determine with accuracy. The cultivation of tobacco, of course, requires a labor force and colonial authorities from the outset sought to stimulate the immigration of workers. Until 1682, in fact, land was granted to persons in England on the basis of the number of "servants" brought to the colony. Despite this, the proportion of such individuals to the total population seems never to have been greater than 1:6.[4] Since the best estimate that can be made places the population of Maryland in 1676 at about 18,000,[5] the number of servants was no greater than 3,000.

By no means all of these can be considered as wage earners. Many were indentured servants whose labor was sold in the colony to defray the expense of their passage. Such persons received only room and board until their debt was paid, although they were generally given clothing, tools, livestock and land according to the "custome of the Cuntry"[6] upon expiration of their obligation. There was also a sizeable group of redemptioners, individuals who disposed of their own services in the colony but the bulk of whose earnings still went to the shipmaster who had financed their crossing.

The *Archives* make it apparent, however, that aside from these categories there existed a group of so-called "hired servants." Individuals whose indentures had expired and those who had been able to pay their own way from England fell into this class of free laborers who may be said to have worked for wages. While the majority of these persons also signed long term contracts and only a small fraction hired out by the day, they did so freely and were able to command payment in tobacco in addition to their sustenance. The employer-employee relationship in the case of these workers is clearly indicated by a document made out in 1645:[7]

[4] Eugene I. MacCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 16, 27.

[5] MacCormac estimated the population in 1660 as 12,000. The *Archives*, XXV, 255, give 32,258 as the figure for 1701.

[6] *Archives*, IV, 361.

[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 327.

I, Walter Guest, for and in consideration of 6000 lb. tobacco . . . doe hereby bynd my selfe to dwell with Edward Fisher for and during the full terme and tyme of three yeares . . . and doe such service and employement as sayd Edward Fisher shall imploye me in . . . and I the sayd Edward Fisher doe hereby promise to fynd and provide unto the sayd Walter Guest sufficient meate and lodgeing, washing and apparel during the sayd terme of three yeares.

One of the disconcerting features of such a contract is the lack of enumeration of duties which makes it impossible to determine whether Guest was hired to plant Fisher's tobacco or to tutor his children. The term " servant " was used in the early colonial period to describe all employed persons, and Bruce cites several examples of " servants " with considerable education and social standing who came to Virginia to assume secretarial positions.[8] It is possible to cull from the *Archives*, however, sufficient examples of wage contracts in which the internal evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the individuals hired were agricultural laborers. Some agreements were made for the planting and harvest season only, others covered the nine months of the year during which agriculture could be profitably carried on, and a few scattered ones actually mentioned that the employee undertook to work in the tobacco fields. The dates during which day laborers were hired also fall into the periods of peak farming activity. An attempt can therefore be made to determine the wages paid to agricultural workers. This group included the bulk of free labor in Maryland during the period and comprised over 2,000 persons by 1676.

Since most of the work was carried on in widely scattered plantations almost all employers supplied room and board. If the estate was sufficiently large, or was too far removed from a settlement, clothing was also provided. Even day laborers received their " diett " in most cases, a practice which seems to have been prevalent in England as well.[9] The hours of work can be determined only approximately. The sole legislation on the subject appears to be an act of 1640 which levied a five shilling fine on employers who used Sunday labor, an indication that this practice was considered to be both unusual and undesirable.[10] An appren-

[8] Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 572-575.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, 578.
[10] *Archives*, I, 53.

ticeship contract entered into in 1662 is particularly explicit on the subject.[11]

> I, Thomas Marise . . . bynd myselfe for too yeares . . . to Francis Wine to learn the trade of cooper and during the sayd time to have satterday in the afternoon to go where I please returning again upon munday morning following at nine by the Cloke.

Two English pamphleteers of the period also commented upon the hours of labor prevalent in the colony. John Hammond, whose *Leah and Rachel* appeared in 1655, noted: [12]

> Little or nothing is done in the wintertime, none ever work before sun rising or after sunset, in the summer they rest, sleep or exercise themselves five hours in the heat of the day. Saturday afternoon is always their own, the old Holidayes are observed and Sabboath spent in good exercises.

Eleven years later George Alsop found the situation essentially the same. He wrote: [13]

> Five dayes and a half in the summer weeks is the allotted time that they work in, and for two monthes when the sun predominates in the highest pitch of heat they claim an antient and customary privilege to repose themselves three hours in the day within the house . . . In the winter time which lasteth three monthes . . . they do little or no work.

While the picture thus painted may have been made deliberately favorable to attract new settlers, the absence from the court records of complaints of unfair treatment and the provisions of the labor contracts actually entered into in Maryland lend weight to the contention that working hours were relatively short and conditions generally better than in England.

Apparently a monthly wage was paid for twenty-three to twenty-five working days of ten to twelve hours each. The three winter months were not generally included within the terms of the labor contracts so that the annual wage would have to be computed as nine, and not twelve, times the indicated earnings per month. Persons hired for the day worked the same hours, but their employment was occasional or, at best, seasonal.

The chief difficulty in the accurate determination of actual earn-

[11] *Ibid.*, LIII, 462.

[12] John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel* (London, 1655), in Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 290.

[13] George Alsop, *Character of the Province of Maryland* (London, 1666), in Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

ings lies in the mode of payment. One of the characteristics of the colonial economy was the scarcity of money, largely due to British refusal to permit any to be exported from England. Throughout the seventeenth century only bullion, foreign coin and wrought silver could be brought in. Agitation for the establishment of a mint in the colony came to nothing, and not until 1733 was any paper currency printed.[14] As a result, after some experimentation with other commodities,[15] tobacco became the recognized medium of exchange. Unfortunately this product was perishable and had to be guarded against rain, cold, flood and fire. Furthermore it was difficult to transport, and a worker receiving several hundred pounds of it in return for his labor was hard pressed to remove and store it. While these problems were partly solved by the transfer of warehouse receipts in place of the commodity itself, tobacco, and not the receipts, was legal tender.[16] Chief of the difficulties inherent in the use of an agricultural product as currency was its fluctuating value. The planters were perpetually faced with the dilemma that raising production would force down the price of tobacco on the world market, while lowering it would cut down the domestic money supply. Since the effects of cutting production were more immediately apparent, the colonial assembly, composed largely of planters, never contemplated such a step, and the value of Maryland "money" was consequently determined in Europe. Since after 1660 tobacco could be exported only to England, the value of wages paid for colonial labor was, in fact, determined by the London merchants.

The most serious attempt to chart the fluctuation of tobacco prices has been made by Lewis C. Gray, but even he was forced to the conclusion that the task is difficult indeed.[17] Price quotation in journals of the period are scarce, business was carried on largely on a consignment basis, and there were no recognized commodity

[14] Curtis P. Nettels, *Money Supply of the American Colonies Before 1720* (Madison, 1934), p. 162; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), p. 126; Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland 1720-1765* (Baltimore, 1915), pp. 11 ff., 78 ff.

[15] In 1633 quitrents were payable in wheat. See Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1904), II, 35. A tonnage duty imposed in 1650 and again in 1661 was payable in gunpowder. See *Archives*, I, 23, 450.

[16] *Archives*, I, 162.

[17] Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York, 1941), I, 262.

exchanges. Nevertheless some useful information may be found. The *Archives* contain several laws which give tobacco equivalents for fines and license fees, Gray gives quotations culled from shipping records, Meyer Jacobstein offers a list based on similar sources, and Mereness also makes some attempt to define the value of tobacco.[18] A compilation of all the data thus made available provides a fairly continuous record of tobacco prices from 1631 to 1678.

TABLE I

TOBACCO PRICES, 1631-1678 [19]

Year	Price /lb. (d)	Source	Year	Price /lb. (d)	Source
1631 (Va.)	6.0	j	1660	1.0	m
1640	1.2	g	1662	1.2	g
1642	0.6	a	1662	2.0	a
1645	1.5	g, j	1664	1.5	g
1646	1.5	g	1665	1.0	j
1647	1.5	g	1667	0.5	g
1649	3.0	m	1669	1.5	a
1655	2.0	g	1673	1.5	g
1657	2.4	g	1674	1.0	a
1658	2.4	g	1678	1.0	a

Sources: a — *Archives* j — Jacobstein, *op. cit.*
g — Gray, *op. cit.* m — Mereness, *op. cit.*

The validity or universal applicability of none of these figures can be guaranteed, but they are fairly consistent and all violent fluctuations can be explained. The above table can therefore be used, although with some reservations, for determining the sterling value of wages paid in Maryland.

It is evident that while there was considerable year to year fluctuation, the general trend was steadily downward. The high price paid for Virginia tobacco in 1631 was never approached after production began in Maryland. After 1649 the price never exceeded 3d per pound, and after 1662 it did not again reach 2d.

[18] *Archives*, I, 445; II, 220; III, 95, 504; V, 268. Meyer Jacobstein, *The Tobacco Industry in the United States* (New York, 1907), p. 23. Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 106.

[19] The *Yearbook* for 1908 of the U. S. Department of Agriculture lists the price of tobacco as 6.08¢ per pound for 1639, 1640 and 1647, and as 3.09¢ per pound for 1664. The pence equivalents are 2.9 and 1.5 respectively. Since no explanation as to the source of these figures was given, they were not included in the table.

Two unusually sharp drops occurred in 1642 and 1667. In the former year the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution in England prevented the sailing of the annual tobacco fleet, and the huge surplus thereby accumulated in Maryland warehouses was not eliminated for several years. The London plague of 1666 again interrupted transatlantic traffic. Since the period immediately preceding this had seen extraordinarily plentiful harvests in Virginia, the outlook for the planters was exceedingly gloomy. Violent storms and heavy rainfalls, however, virtually destroyed the 1667 crop, thus reducing the surplus and once again sending the price upward.[20]

Due to the absence of uniform marketing methods not every grower received the same price for his tobacco nor was all of it of comparable quality. Moreover, in the case of wage contracts there were undoubtedly variations in value between the date of the contract and the time of actual payment. Nevertheless the fluctuations in tobacco prices indicated in Table I are not great enough to prevent the determination of approximate sterling equivalents which can be used to establish the relationship between agricultural wages in the colony and those current in England. Monthly tobacco wages listed in the *Archives* have been converted in this manner in Table II. In those cases where no price data was available for the year in which the wages were paid, an estimate based on the nearest relevant figures has been made.

Except for a noticeable rise in the beginning, due probably to the expansion of land cultivation at a greater rate than labor supply, no trend is perceptible in the limited number of cases shown. The sudden spurt indicated between 1648 and 1660 may be attributed simply to improper sampling. It is possible, however, that it reflects the actual situation produced by the promulgation of the Conditions of 1648 by Lord Baltimore. Under their terms all freed servants of Irish or English extraction could obtain land from the proprietary in return for the promise to pay a small annual rent.[21] The resultant decrease in the number of persons seeking employment coupled with the increased need for labor, could, in view of the already inadequate supply of workers, have

[20] Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia under the Stuarts* (Princeton, 1914), pp. 115-145. This section deals also with the effects of the exclusion of Dutch merchants from the tobacco trade on the price of the commodity.

[21] MacCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

caused a sudden spurt in wages. Within a few years the high cost of labor and the difficulty in paying the rents [22] undoubtedly forced many small farmers to give up their holdings and return to the status of free laborers. While such speculation is necessarily not wholly conclusive, it is apparent that during normal

TABLE II

MONTHLY WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

Year	Wages (tobacco)	Value (d/lb)	Wages (s)
1638	#	—	8s 4d
1642	100 lbs.	0.6	5 0
1644	133	1.2*	16 8
1644	167	1.2*	20 10
1644	187	1.2*	23 4
1645	170	1.5	21 3
1647	170	1.5	21 3
1648	250	2.0*	41 8
1652	600	2.0*	100 0
1654	600	2.0*	100 0
1660	250	1.0	20 10
1660	200	1.0	16 8
1662	266	1.2	26 8
1667	600	0.5	25 0
1669	150	1.5	18 9
1669	125	1.5	15 8
1669	320	1.5	40 0
1670	175	1.5*	21 10
1676	300	1.0*	25 0

not given * estimate

conditions the wage of a farm worker was approximately twenty-one shillings per month. Since he also received room and board he clearly had no difficulty in sustaining himself and was undoubtedly able to accumulate savings toward the purchase of land and livestock.

Day laborers in most cases did not get lodging although they received at least two meals at their job. Because the weighing

[22] Although quitrents amounted to only 2 shillings per 100 acres at this time, they had to be paid in currency which, as has been indicated above, was exceedingly scarce in the colony. Not until 1671 was tobacco accepted for rent payments.

and grading of smaller quantities of tobacco involved more time and effort than it was worth, wages were paid in multiples of five pounds. Persons were hired by the day only when additional labor was urgently needed, and this fact, together with their "living out," accounts for the somewhat higher wages paid them. Data contained in the *Archives* has been compiled below.

678916

TABLE III

Daily Wages of Agricultural Laborers

Year	Wages (tobacco)	Value (d/lb)	Wages (s)
1641	20 lbs.	1.2*	2s 0d
1642	15	0.6	0 9
1644	10	1.5*	1 3
1647	20	1.5	2 6
1648	15	2.0*	2 6
1649	10	3.0	2 6
1655	20	2.0	3 4
1655	25	2.0	4 2
1656	15	2.0*	2 6
1669	20	1.5	2 6

* estimate

Again there is some evidence that, for reasons indicated above, wages were abnormally high in the 1650's, but no conclusive trend can be observed. The most common daily wage appears to have been 2s 6d.

While no survey of prices during the period can be undertaken here, it is of interest to consider the relation of these wages to the cost of some of the items which the laborers might wish to acquire. One significant figure is that of land rent. Since land was not sold until 1683 and all colonists of English or Irish extraction might receive a grant from the proprietary after 1648, rent was the only payment required of the prospective landholder. It amounted to two shillings per hundred acres per year after 1642. Attempts were made to increase it to four shillings in 1658 but in 1671 it was set at two shillings. After 1642 rent was payable only in sterling, a fact which represented a considerable hardship for the small landowner who had virtually no opportunity to acquire hard

currency. In 1671, however, assembly pressure forced the proprietary to accept tobacco in payment at the conversion rate of two pence per pound.[23] Under these conditions, one to two days of hired labor were sufficient to pay the annual rent on 100 acres and a month's clear wage was enough for 500 to 1000 acres. When in 1683 Lord Baltimore began to grant land outright to applicants, the price was 100 pounds of tobacco for 50 acres together with two shillings sterling yearly rent. This was soon increased to 120 pounds, and in 1684 was fixed at 480 pounds for 100 acres.[24] Even at this final figure the purchase of a plot of land required only about twenty-four days of seasonal labor or two months of steady employment. It seems reasonable to conclude that a thrifty individual could in two years' work for wages save enough tobacco to purchase 500 acres of uncleared land.

Wheat, the chief food staple of the colony, sold for four shillings per bushel in 1642 and 1692 and for five shillings in 1662. During most of the period it could probably be obtained for somewhere between two and four shillings.[25] Since the quantity of wheat adequate to nourish a family of medium size has been estimated as 0.019 quarters, or 0.16 bushels, per day, the purchase of the needed amount required no more than one third of the daily wage and frequently less than one fourth. It is generally agreed that English farm laborers used the whole of their pay to buy the necessary wheat before 1650, and more than two thirds of it for the remainder of the century. The price of the grain varied between three and nine shillings in England, or at about twice the level reached in Maryland.[26] In terms of this important commodity, therefore, the real wage of the colonial worker was at least two and probably more than three times that of his fellow worker in the mother country.

In the almost completely agricultural economy of Maryland the price of cattle is also of some significance. The *Archives* show that heifers ranged in cost from 150 to 450 pounds of tobacco, bulls sold for 200 to 250 pounds, steers for 350 to 500, cows with calves for 450 to 700, and hogs for 35 to 65 pounds. Again assuming reasonable thrift, the savings of two years' labor were sufficient

[23] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 344.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 62. *Archives*, XVII, 143, 239.
[25] Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 174-175; *Archives*, I, 445.
[26] H. O. Meredith, *Outlines of the Economic History of England* (London, 1930), Chart B, ff. p. 406.

to acquire a bull and six to ten heifers, five to six steers, or fifty to sixty hogs. While cattle was thus not cheap it was by no means out of the reach of the laborer, a fact borne out by the large number of different cattle markings registered by the county courts.

Manufactured products, nails, clothing and imported goods were, of course, relatively more expensive. The use of such items, however, was not great by modern standards and a consideration of their price might tend to be misleading. On the whole it can be stated with some assurance that the wages paid to agricultural laborers during the period were sufficiently high to permit the accumulation of savings, and prices were sufficiently low to allow the acquisition of land and cattle. It was possible in the colony to rise from the status of a hired servant to that of at least a modest landowner, a situation which was completely at variance with English experience.

The proposition that both wages and conditions of labor were better in the colony than in the mother country can be accepted without serious reservations. John Hammond's claim that " the labour that servants are put to is not so hard nor of such continuance as husbandmen or handecraftmen are kept at in England," [27] is borne out both by the contracts entered into in Maryland and by the lack of complaints in the court records. In regard to wages the case is even clearer. As has been shown, the day laborer in the colony received approximately 2s 6d for his services. Meredith places the daily wage in England at 10d in 1600 and indicates a gradual rise to 1s 3d by 1680. Henry D. Traill calls 1s the average wage in 1684 and estimates the normal weekly earnings of day laborers at 4s 3d for the early part of the century. Bruce takes an even dimmer view of prevailing conditions and makes an estimate of 4 to 5d per day between 1610 and 1640, and 8d per day in 1684.[28] Taking the most optimistic estimate of the situation in England, the Maryland worker still received twice the wages prevalent there, and very likely three times as much. Few figures are available by which to compare monthly earnings, but Bruce places the annual wage of an English plowman at 50 shillings, a figure which would make Maryland wages of nearly

[27] In Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[28] Meredith, *op. cit.*, Chart A, ff. p. 406; Henry D. Traill, *Social England* (New York, 1894-7), IV, 476, 520; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 578-579.

200 shillings munificent indeed. The weekly wage of 4s 3d cited by Traill amounts to 18s 5d per month, which again is appreciably lower than the 21 shillings plus board and lodging received by agricultural laborers in the colony.

Beyond this, few conclusions can be drawn. The general increase in wages in the British Isles after the Restoration was not reflected in Maryland, nor did the Navigation Act of 1660 have immediate repercussions on this factor in the economy. Considering the small size of the free labor force and the vast amount of available land, the shortage of workers must always have been the overriding factor in determining wage levels in the colony. The fact that these levels were high in the early period created opportunities for the accumulation of savings which did not exist for the working class in England. Together with the absence of clearly established class lines and landholding traditions, this condition created a degree of socio-economic fluidity undreamed of in Europe. There can be little doubt that this situation had far-reaching effects on the political development of Maryland and played a major role in sowing the seeds of American independence.

PARK HEAD CHURCH AND THE REVEREND JEREMIAH MASON

By Mary Vernon Mish *

WHEN Park Head Church was erected in 1833 near Licking Creek Mills, now Pecktonville, Maryland, its founder and organizer was the Reverend Jeremiah Mason.[1] Today little is known of either the man or his works. In an effort to present an authentic account of Park Head Church, a glimpse into the background of its founder, once well-known for his good deeds and industry in Western Maryland, provides a few important clues.

The Reverend Mr. Mason had first come into Western Maryland as an itinerant preacher and, according to the idiom of the Maryland frontier, as a "culpo'cher," or seller of Bibles.[2] In a sense, it might also be said that he qualified as a missionary in that he gave away innumerable Bibles where sales were not practicable.

Extraordinarily good fortune was attendant upon this youthful hawker of Holy Writ. In some manner he came under the protection of the prominent Jacques family of Washington County. According to family tradition, a night's lodging at the home of Thomas Jacques stretched out into an indefinite period of residence

* In the preparation of this brief history grateful appreciation for assistance is particularly due to Mr. Daniel R. Peck whose assembled notes on the Park Head Church served as a basis for this paper. The suggestions and corrections of Mr. Clarence B. Mason are here gladly acknowledged, along with the indispensable reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. George T. Prather. Land Office records from Annapolis pertaining to surveys are the generous contribution of Dr. Arthur G. Tracey, Hampstead.

[1] See datestone on building. The deed for Park Head Church was recorded June 25, 1836. Deed Book SS, fol. 157, Washington County Court House, Hagerstown, Md. On the Rev. Mr. Mason, see Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1906), II, 854.

[2] "Culpo'cher" was derived from colporteur, a peddler; usually an agent of a religious Society. The reminiscences in this and in the following paragraph were supplied by Mr. and Mrs. George T. Prather, Clear Spring. Mr. Prather is a grandson of the Rev. Mr. Mason.

and eventually resulted in marriage with his host's daughter, Ann. While this account appears to be basically correct, one deviation from the facts of the case must be noted: Thomas Jacques was already in his grave when Jeremiah was but a thirteen-year-old stripling.[3]

Although the date of arrival of the Reverend Mr. Mason in Western Maryland is not known, it is certain that he had resided within the vicinity of Licking Creek many years before he founded the Park Head Church. Judge Williams in his *History of Western Maryland* states that Mason was settled on a tract of land called Castle Howe around the year 1805.[4] This is possible since Washington County Court House records prove that in 1807, when he was only twenty-two years old, Jeremiah Mason married Ann "Nancy" Jacques, daughter of Thomas Jacques, former owner of Castle Howe.[5] Although a great-grandson of Jeremiah Mason lives today on Castle Howe, on the east side of Licking Creek, no county land record indicates that any deed was made out to the Reverend Mr. Mason prior to 1813, when he acquired his symbolically-named Mount Nebo, the first of eighteen tracts registered in his name.[6]

Because Jeremiah bore the notable colonial surname of his near neighbor, John Thomson Mason, nephew of George Mason, author of the famous Virginia Bill of Rights, there has been much speculation as to the relationship of these two Masons

[3] Inventory of Appraisal, Will Book B, 267, Apr. 21, 1798, Wash. Co. Court House. Although Ann Jacques Mason died while still a young woman, then, as now, she was referred to as "Grandma Jacques."

[4] Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 854. "Castle Howe" was a resurvey on "Leans Field," Nov. 20, 1746, for Thomas Mills, and patented to him on May 23, 1749. See Prince George's Co. Envelope No. 1264, Land Office, Annapolis, Md. This tract, as the word "castle" implies, had been the site of a frontier fort, possibly of the elusive Fort Mills, Mr. Prather thinks.

[5] Marriage Records, p. 29, Wash. Co. Court House, Apr. 28, 1807, Jeremiah Mason to "Nancy" Jacques.

[6] Deed Book Z, 253, executed July 17, 1813, and recorded a year later, Wash. Co. Court House. For a description of this property, located on the west side of Licking Creek, see Wash. Co. Survey Book No. 2, 143, June 1, 1793. It was from Mt. Nebo in Moab that Moses first saw The Promised Land.

The Rev. Mr. Mason must have remained for many years in residence on his wife's estate, Castle Howe. A neighboring storekeeper and blacksmith, Lewis Myers of Big Pool, carried an account against him as late as 1827. The ledger is now in the possession of Lewis Myers' great-great-grandson, F. A. Gearhart, Hagerstown, Md.

Mr. Clarence B. Mason, great-grandson of the Rev. Mr. Mason, is the fourth consecutive generation in his family to reside on Castle Howe.

of Western Maryland. In order to distinguish between the "Gunston Hall family" of Virginia and the Reverend Mr. Mason's, that of the latter has always been referred to as "the Castle Howe branch." Both John Thomson Mason and Jeremiah Mason had come into Washington County from Southern Maryland, the former having taken up residence near Clear Spring on Montpelier, the estate which he had inherited from his uncle, Richard Barnes, son of Abraham Barnes of Tudor Hall, St. Mary's County, Maryland.[7] Judge Williams is the sole authority, however, to identify the Reverend Jeremiah with Southern Maryland, where the latter's family was said to have been landowners and slaveholders since the 1600's.[8] Other than the tenuous geographical association which bound them together in the public mind, no known connection has so far been established between these two families who lived in Washington County at the start of the nineteenth century.

Although a devout and conscientious servant of the church, the Reverend Jeremiah Mason, after his arrival in Western Maryland, entered into a wide range of activities. He even engaged in politics, holding office under the Whig banner. His business interests, conducted through the medium of slave labor, fashionably identified him with the leading regional pursuits of his period as a planter, lumberman and miller.[9] In spite of various outside undertakings, his claim to distinction nevertheless seemed to rest securely upon his ecclesiastical reputation. We are assured, "His fame as a minister extended beyond the confines of the County."[10] He was an organizer and builder of churches,—a man who, like his namesake, Jeremiah the Prophet, was destined "to build and to plant."

[7] Martha Sprigg Poole, "Tudor Hall and Those Who Lived There," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (1951), 272 ff. See also Mary Vernon Mish, "Springfield Farm of Conococheague," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 331, n. 79; J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 1113 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 128, 374, 425-6. The respective dates for these two men, as indicated on their tombstones, are: John Thomson Mason, 1764-1824; Jeremiah Mason, 1785-1849.

[8] Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 854.

[9] *Ibid.* In his role as miller, the Rev. Jeremiah Mason established the Licking Creek Mills on the east side of Licking Creek. After the flood of 1889 the Rev. Mr. Mason's grandson-by-marriage, Martin L. Peck, moved the mill site to higher ground, about 500 feet eastward. At this time the name was changed to Rosedale Mills, and the rolling process for making flour was substituted for the old, coarser-ground burr-stone method. In 1893 the site of Rosedale Mills was given the official U. S. Post Office designation of Pecktonville in honor of Martin L. Peck.

[10] *Ibid.*

Curious as it may be under these circumstances, the denominational affiliation of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason is uncertain. Even his grandson and two of his great-grandsons cannot today substantiate the wary suggestions of historians that he was a Methodist Episcopalian.[11]

In 1828 the Reverend Mr. Mason was associated with the building of the Mount Nebo Methodist Church at Boonsboro. Actually, this Church was non-denominational, but Methodist or Methodist Episcopal in spirit. The former denomination was said to have been the more influential in its organization.[12] It is interesting to recall at this point that the Reverend Jeremiah Mason had named his first land holding " Mount Nebo."

Three churches are known to have been built through the efforts of the Reverend Mr. Mason. On May 13, 1828, simultaneously with the cornerstone-laying of the Boonsboro church, steps were taken for the erection of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Hancock. The site for this church was deeded on that date by Thomas C. Brent to nine trustees of whom Jeremiah Mason was chairman.[13]

In the year 1833 the Reverend Mr. Mason launched two additional churches upon their ecclesiastical courses: The Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring and the Park Head Church situated in the vicinity of present-day Pecktonville, near the mouth of Licking Creek, where this lively watercourse empties into the Potomac River. The original Minute Book of the former Church reads: [14]

> At a meeting convened in Clear Spring January 5th, 1833 The Revd. Jeremiah Mason took the C[h]air and called the House to order; the following Business were entered into, Question, It is moved and seconded that we Incorporate ourselves into a Body according to the Law of the State [November session, 1802], the Style and Title of the Trustees of the Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring it is moved and seconded that we Elect Eleven Trustees.
>
> The trustees of the Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring

[11] Grandson, George T. Prather; great-grandsons, Clarence B. Mason, and Daniel R. Peck.

[12] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1263.

[13] Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 552. The trustees were: Jeremiah Mason, William Vandike, William Edwards, Tobias Johnson, James Ayers, Joseph Mann, James Kincaid, Samuel Prather, and Abraham Kalb.

[14] The Minute Book of this Church is in the possession of Mr. George T. Prather.

were: Jeremiah Mason, Basil Prather, Tobias Johnson, Samuel Prather (son of James), Isaac Nesbit, John Bradshaw, Eli Mclain (sic), Charles Edelin, Perry Prather, Samuel S. Prather and James J. Beatty.

Again the Reverend Jeremiah Mason's name, not unlike Abou Ben Adhem's, "led all the rest."

According to these same Minutes, as kept by the trustees, other denominations were invited to make use of the Clear Spring Church, and it is evident, also, that this use was especially solicited with the passing years as a means of raising revenue for upkeep. In time the building was sold to the Lutheran Congregation. It was on the south side of this particular church that Jeremiah Mason was laid to rest in the old family burial-ground. His first wife, Ann, only daughter of Thomas Jacques, "nephew of Lancelot, the first,"; and his second wife, Sarah Prather, are interred within this same cemetery.[15]

While information on the founding of the Park Head Church is nebulous, there is, however, no reason to question Williams' statement that the Reverend Jeremiah Mason built and established the church at Park Head. From the day in 1833 when he was made acting chairman of the board of trustees until his death in 1849 at the age of sixty-four, the Reverend Mr. Mason was the guiding spirit of this church house with which his name was always closely identified.[16]

Three years after the Park Head Church was organized the original tract for the church was deeded on March 19, 1836,

[15] On the Jacques Family, see Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 854. For the second marriage see, Marriage Records, p. 155, Wash. Co. Court House, Jeremiah Mason to Sarah Prather, June 6, 1832. Although Ann (Jacques) Mason has no tombstone, her descendant, Mrs. Earl L. Chambers, is the authority for the statement that she is buried in this graveyard. The Rev. Mr. Mason's four children by his wife Ann are likewise buried here: Jeremiah Mason, Jr. (who died only three months after his father), 1816-1849; John Thomas Mason, 1814-1863; Ruth (Mrs. Tobias Johnson), 1809-1859; and Temperance (Mrs. Basil Prather), 1810-1886, named after her maternal grandmother. According to her tombstone inscription, Sarah Prather, second wife of the Rev. Mr. Mason, died July 10, 1867, at the age of seventy-one.

[16] Will Book E, 37, Wash. Co. Court House. Date of death and of administration recorded same day, Oct. 2, 1849. The Rev. Mr. Mason left a large portion of his estate to his second wife, Sarah, on condition that she would "relinquish her dower rights in my estate." She was to receive among other bequests, "all the chairs except my first family chairs." He likewise bequeathed to his widow his house in Clear Spring, "wherein I now dwell." Upon removal to Clear Spring the Rev. Mr. Mason had given Castle Howe to his son, John Thomas Mason.

from Anthony and Margaret M. Snyder to representatives of the new congregation at Park Head, a board composed of seven members of which the Reverend Mr. Mason was chairman.[17] Like the Clear Spring Church, Park Head was probably founded primarily as a Methodist Protestant Church, although the deed specifically stated that the edifice was to be used by Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Old Methodists, Roman Catholics and "all other persuasions of Christians that the above named trustees or their successors approve of," and that the Church was "to be for no other use than that of a house of worship for the different denominations as hereinbefore mentioned. . . ." Its datestone which is still intact reads, "M 1833 R." These initials, standing for the two words, "Mutual Rights," are reminiscent of the same expression of principles which, written out in full, once graced the Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring.[18] It is of interest that, faithful to this doctrine, one of the first sermons read in the Park Head Church was by a Catholic priest at the invitation of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason.[19]

In reviewing the history of the Park Head Church the romantic importance of its site should not be overlooked. Lying west of Licking Creek on the north side of "the Turnpike Road," nationally known as Route Forty, its small lot, measuring only forty-two by fifty-two feet, was once a part of one of Western Maryland's earliest land patents, "Lubberland," the fifty acre tract which had been surveyed for the settler, Thomas Wells, as early as January 15, 1739, and patented to him on October 3 of the following year.[20] It was described as lying "on the bank of potomac above the mouth of the Licking Creek." The name of the church was derived from a 2,646¼ acre tract of land patented under the name of Park Head Amended, which lay "immediately below the mouth of Licking Creek."[21] Park Head

[17] See Note 1. The deed, as recorded, described "a certain Lot or parcel of Land Whereon a Brick Church house now stands on the north side of the Turnpike Road west of Licking Creek being a part of a Tract of Land called by name Lubber Land. . . ." The original trustees of Park Head Church were: Jeremiah Mason (chairman), John A. Brewer, Tobias Johnson, Christian Bair, Jacob Hartman, Thomas Mills, James P. Mills.

[18] Information supplied by George T. Prather.

[19] The now-dismantled Catholic Chapel, near Mooresville, had not then been built.

[20] Certificate of Survey, P. G. Co., Envelope No. 1365; patent, P. G. Co., Deed Book IC No. 5, fol. 508, Land Office, Annapolis.

[21] Survey, Parkhead Enlarged & Amended, Apr. 13, 1790, to Lancelot Jacques

Amended was a resurvey made on several tracts, one of which was Ross' Chance, a seventy-eight acre tract which had been originally patented to Dr. David Ross in 1761.[22] On this site before the French & Indian War Dr. Ross operated the Fort Frederick Forge.[23] Early settlers were supplied from here with tools and implements, and during the springtime freshets many rafts weighted down with bar- and pig-iron from the Fort Frederick Forge and Furnace were floated out of Licking Creek, into the Potomac, and onward to a tidewater market.

Long before the advent of pioneers and ironmasters, Indians had likewise presumably looked upon this land and found it agreeable to their needs. Utensils made of schist, steatite, pottery and iron, found in recent years in this vicinity, tell in a kind of Human Progress Report their own story of those who, picking their way through a primeval forest, opened up a roadway beside which in time the Park Head Church was built.[24]

Since 1833, when Park Head Church was erected, it has known something of both war and peace. For nearly thirty years after its founding the history of the Park Head Church was tranquil, but in 1861 it could be truly said of its congregation, even as in the Book of Jeremiah, " We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of health, and behold trouble! " Federal troops moved in for the duration of the war. In those days, when Maryland was a borderline state between the North and the South, picket duty on the Potomac had an unequaled priority.[25]

and Denton Jacques for 2646¼ acres; Patent Book No. 2, fol. 86, Wash. Co. Court House.

[22] Ross' Chance, surveyed Dec. 21, 1760, Fred. Co. Cert. No. 4167; patented June 24, 1761, BC & GS No. 15, fol. 34, Land Office, Annapolis. The date of June 24, 1760, is erroneously given in the patent. See the back of original certificate for the correct year. (Courtesy of the Land Office.)

[23] Concerning Dr. Ross, brother of George Ross, Signer, see Mary Vernon Mish, " Springfield Farm of Conococheague," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 318. One of Dr. Ross' partners was Lancelot Jacques, " Iron Master," a grand uncle of the Rev. Mr. Mason's wife, Ann. For Fort Frederick Forge, see *Ibid.*, 321, n. 41; Lease, Liber BD No. 1, fol. 180, and Mortgage, Liber BD No. 2, fol. 70, Fred. Co. Court House. Also, Charles Varlé Map, 1808. This Forge was located on the east bank of Licking Creek, north of Route 40.

[24] Artifacts found in the vicinity of " Braddock's Road " by Daniel R. Peck. The old " Waggon Road " leading from Fort Frederick Forge and Furnace to the west side of Licking Creek is still known locally as Braddock's Road. Here, in part, Dunbar's command under General Braddock fanned out on the Maryland side of the Potomac in the course of its ill-starred march on Fort Duquesne in 1755.

[25] Picket duty may have been observed here by the end of the year 1860. See Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 552, for Civil War history of Episcopal Church, Hancock.

As hardship has an unfortunate way of piling up, the end of the Civil War did not spell out a surcease of disaster for the little red brick church near the mouth of Licking Creek. Sometime between the close of the war and 1887 a formidable " Southeaster " blew in the south gable, causing the roof to collapse.[26] Promptly repaired, services have been held there continually for the last sixty-seven years.

The repairs undertaken around the year 1887 were so extensive that when the work was completed the Park Head Church was rededicated. It was, in fact, rededicated by an Episcopal minister, the Reverend Coupland R. Page, in memory of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason who was " largely instrumental in the first building of this Church House." [27]

Refurnishing followed closely upon the heels of the repairs, and it was at this time that a praying-desk, reading-desk, altar and chancel-rail were installed. An interesting architectural feature was also restored: the balcony which was supposed to have been built for the benefit of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason's slaves.[28]

In the long line of clerics who faithfully served the non-sectarian Park Head Church there were, besides its founder, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Evangelical ministers. The Reverend Mr. Page, Episcopalian, who is favorably recalled to mind to this day, was regarded as " a kind and good man " and one who was " highly esteemed by this and the surrounding communities." [29]

Serving the Church simultaneously with the Reverend Mr. Page was the Presbyterian minister, the Reverend J. M. Clymer, later to be a trustee of the Presbyterian Church of Hancock.[30] The Reverend Mr. Clymer is likewise remembered as having been " a minister of high ideals, a valiant defender of the Truth, with respect for the House of God." [31] This venerable servant of the

[26] Except where otherwise noted, information on the Park Head Church in this and in the following paragraphs was obtained from the Minute Books of the congregation.

[27] In 1881 the Rev. Mr. Page was rector of St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Clear Spring. See Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1078.

[28] The Rev. Mr. Mason's slaves were freed by his will of 1848. See Note 1. Also see Deed of Manumission for 1835, Deed Book PP, 532, Wash. Co. Court House.

[29] Information supplied by George T. Prather.

[30] Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 552.

[31] Reminiscences of D. R. Peck concerning the Rev. Mr. Clymer.

Church, passing through the countryside in his " high two-wheeled cart, drawn by a sleek, gentle black horse " has left behind him an enduring recollection.

In 1890 and 1895 two Evangelical ministers successively conducted services at Park Head. In 1890 the Reverend Charles F. Garrett began a four-year association with the Church which was, in every sense, evangelistic and also was highly successful in adding many members to the congregation. Upon his departure he was followed by the Reverend Aaron S. Baumgardner, who was no doubt delighted with the size of the flock left to his care by the Reverend Mr. Garrett.

The Evangelical minister, the Reverend A. S. Baumgardner, knew how to make the best of the happy situation which he inherited. Being, among other things, talented in both vocal and instrumental music, he developed the musical abilities of his congregation. He also gained the support of the board of trustees in making additional repairs to the Church, rendering it both more comfortable and more attractive. As a result of this minister's individual efforts, on November 16, 1895, Abraham Ditto, chairman of the board of trustees (and a Presbyterian), offered as a resolution that a vote of thanks be rendered to the Reverend A. S. Baumgardner for the active part which he had taken in soliciting funds for the repairs on the church building. It has been noted by Mr. Peck that " His attitude, methods, activities and ideals were wholeheartedly in sympathy with those of the founder of this Church. Creeds were no barriers to him; all were welcome to his services." [32] It is no more than just to say that up to 1900 the Reverend Mr. Baumgardner was definitely one of the leading spirits of the Park Head Church.[33]

Disaster struck again in 1931 when another southeastern storm made havoc of the Park Head Church House. On July 25 powerful

[32] Mr. Peck nostalgically recalls how, as a boy, he admired the Rev. Mr. Baumgardner's beautifully curried and well-cared-for black horse, " Nellie," which had been trained by her master to shake hands by raising her right foreleg and foot.

[33] Of the lay members of the congregation, Abraham Ditto, chairman of the board of trustees, and Martin L. Peck, secretary, deserve special recognition as leaders in the Park Head Church. Following nonsectarian principles, Mr. Ditto, though a Presbyterian, taught both Presbyterian and Evangelical Sunday School classes. Mr. Peck, a Primitive Baptist (or Old School Baptist), born in Fulton County, Pennsylvania, conducted Bible classes where needed, and, as secretary of the board of trustees, kept the Minute Books for many years.

winds lifted off its entire roof and deposited the wreckage fifty feet away. Again the south gable fell, most of the rubble coming to rest inside of the little church building. It would seem, however, that the spirit of the Church's founder was not lost to his congregation. The solemn obligation of rebuilding was immediately assumed. By August 15 actual restoration work was begun. By December 26 of that same year, 1931, it was completed.

In the passing years a few important alterations were made upon the Park Head Church. The original seats were replaced by a more modern type, providently obtained from another church house; the balcony was remodeled; a brick vestibule was added; new windows were installed; and a new chimney was erected. These improvements were completed by 1951.

To have maintained a place of worship continually for 121 years throughout good times and grievous ones is concededly an achievement worthy of being recorded. A bronze tablet has accordingly been inscribed with these words:

PARK HEAD CHURCH

BUILT 1833

Land deeded from Anthony and Margaret M. Snyder

TRUSTEES

Jeremiah Mason, Chairman

John A. Brewer	Tobias Johnson
Christian Bair	Jacob Hartman
Thomas Mills	James P. Mills

For the benefit of the following denominations

Methodist Protestant	Presbyterian
Lutheran	Episcopalian
Old Methodist	Roman Catholic

and all other persuasions of Christian faiths, approved by the trustees

DEDICATED

1954

TRUSTEES

George W. Pitman, Chairman

Clarence B. Mason	Alfred E. Shives
John R. Malcolm	R. Kenneth Andrews
Daniel R. Peck	Warren E. Reed.

A sturdy, if modest, memorial, this tablet records the simple intent of the Park Head Congregation: To maintain faithfully in the midst of a turbulent world " the noiseless tenour " of its appointed way. Others more renowned than the Reverend Jeremiah Mason have not always left behind them so telling a legacy.

CHARLES WALLACE AS UNDERTAKER OF THE STATE HOUSE

By Morris L. Radoff

AT the end of the long harassing years devoted to building the present State House at Annapolis, a Committee of the General Assembly which had been appointed to examine the progress of the work reported that the building was almost done. It also pointed out that the original copper roof had been blown off by the hurricane of September, 1775, and that the contractor Charles Wallace finding it impossible to restore it had sold the copper " as by his memorial will appear." [1] When the writer was preparing a study of the public buildings at Annapolis a search was made for this memorial in the expectation that it would clarify the baffling history of the State House roof.[2] The search was fruitless, however, and the story of the successive roofs had to be reconstructed from widely scattered and less-authoritative evidence.

Now the memorial has been found. It not only explains the roofs, which was the most that had been hoped for, but it gives a step by step account of Charles Wallace's work as " undertaker " of the State House beginning with the signing of a contract with the State, June 20, 1771, and ending December 28, 1779, a few short months before the building was occupied. There is even a prologue which provides answers for some additional questions. On January 4, 1770, the superintendents of the new buildings, which had been authorized the month before [3] advertised for plans and bids.[4] We have long thought that if we found some records

[1] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November Session, 1779 (December 28, 1779), p. 78.

[2] Morris L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1954).

[3] Chapter 14, Acts of 1769, November Session.

[4] See the *Maryland Gazette* for that date, the advertisement appeared every week at first, then from time to time until the end of February after which it ceased

of the response to this advertisement we would discover who was the architect. It now appears, according to Wallace, that no plans were submitted since the amount of money appropriated for the purpose was generally considered insufficient. His own proposal was not made and accepted until June of the next year, but whether the plans were his own or prepared for him by someone else is still an unresolved question.

Otherwise the memorial will speak for itself. The editor ought to add that there is no reason to doubt any of the facts given by Wallace. He was a prominent merchant of Annapolis who enjoyed an excellent character. Moreover, wherever there is other evidence of the facts which he recites his version is fully sustained in every case.

Because the memorial has suffered badly at the folds it was not always possible to be sure of the reading. In the transcript which follows the uncertainties are clearly indicated.

To The Honorable The General Assembly of Maryland
The Humble Petition of Charles Wallace
Sheweth

That soon after the passing the Act of Assembly in 1769 for building a State House, the Superintendants for that purpose who then acted gave repeated public invitations to Architects and Workmen to lay before them Plans Estimates and Proposals for building and finishing the said house but nothing conclusive or satisfactory was done or offered by any person nor was likely to be proposed for carrying on the said Building, the common opinion being that the £7,000 granted was hardly sufficient for the purpose and your petitioner impressed with an idea that the building might be compleated for the Money with good Management, though fully satisfied that no great profit could be made by any undertaker proposed to the then acting Superintendents to undertake the Building and finishing the said State House for the said £7,000 Sterling which proposals were agreed to, and in consequence thereof, on or about the Twentieth Day of June 1771 your petitioner entered into Articles with the then Acting Superintendants, whereby he agreed for the said £7,000 to build and finish or procure to be built and finished in a substantial workman like and neat manner the State House upon the plan annexed to the said articles. Your petitioner drew pursuant to the said articles and for which he gave his bonds with security according and subject to the said agreement on the said 20th day of June £2,500 sterling and £3,000 sterling and on the 18th day of April 1772 £1,500 sterling making

to appear. The date on which plans were to be submitted, April 17, passed without comment in the *Gazette*.

in the whole the £7,000 sterling being [?] the money appointed by the said Act.

That your petitioner prosecuted the work with such diligence that in the year 1772 the basement and first story were up and early in 1773 the second story was up, and the building would have been covered in that year if the best and indeed universal opinion had not been that a slate cover would not answer the purpose. In June in the same year the two houses of the then Assembly disagreed whether the building should be covered with shingles or copper so that your petitioner could not go on with either, and by the advice of gentlemen of both houses, in expectation that the two houses would afterward agree, he forbore to proceed till the next session which happened in November, sometime in that session and late in December an Act passed directing the covering to be of copper and appropriating for that purpose £1,440 sterling. Your petitioner immediately sent for it, got it in the summer of 1774, proceeded on with the building, got it covered in and four of the upper rooms finished, but the September storm in 1775 blew the cover off and ruined the inside work. The copper was so spoiled that it could not be applied again to the same use none could be imported and the roof was much too flat for shingling, wherefore your petitioner employed all the hands he could, and at a very heavy expence in the course of the winter framed a new roof and covered it with shingles.

From that time till the month of August 1777 when the British Fleet came [?] up the Bay your petitioner had in his employ a number of exceeding good workmen, but upon the Fleet's coming up the Bay most of the inhabitants left Annapolis for a while amongst them your petitioner and most of the workmen then in his service and upwards of twenty of them have not returned to him. Since that time your petitioner could procure but very few workmen whose wages have rose with the Depreciation of the money as far as from 5/ [?] your petitioner's estimates and what he actually paid to six pounds per day.

That in the year 1777 your petitioner undertook for five hundred pounds current money to build two galleries, one in the room of each House of the Assembly, since which the depreciation of the money has been rapid and continual, and to enable your Petitioner the better to sustain the many charges occasioned by a variety of unexpected events he disposed of and sold the copper which was blown off and spoiled as aforesaid.

Your petitioner has finished the State House (except four of the commonest Rooms and some ornaments in the front which the plan will show) and the galleries in a much more expensive and elegant manner than could be claimed from his contract or he believes was expected, and, as he hopes to give satisfaction to your Honors and reflect credit on the State.

He has prosecuted the work with diligence and can truly affirm that instead of his being a gainer by seven years application and fatigue on a public work, he is a very great loser, for though the sterling money for

the several purposes aforesaid was drawn when it was at par it could not be wholly laid out whilst it . . . . . and would have depreciated had it been kept in cash, as it has with your petitioner's other property in the hands of many of his debtors. He therefore prays your Honors will direct that his contracts and bonds be given up to him, that he be discharged therefrom, and from doing anything further on the said building and that he may be indemnified in selling and disposing of the copper aforesaid and in applying it as aforesaid and that he may be paid a sum of money equal to the £500 in 1777 which is yet due for building the galleries or a sum adequate to that service independent of any agreement.

And your petitioner as in duty bound will pray.

Verso

Petition of Charles Wallace December 28, 1779 Read the first time.

SIDELIGHTS

TWO LETTERS OF SIDNEY LANIER

The two letters of Lanier which follow have not hitherto been published.[1] The first, to Gibson Peacock, becomes the second surviving letter to the man who " more than any other one person . . . helped Lanier achieve a national reputation." [2] Peacock, the son of James Peacock and his first wife, Frances C. Gibson, was born in 1822 or 1823 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where his father was editor of the *Pennsylvania Republican.* Young Peacock joined the staff of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* around the year 1848 and was made editor in 1859, when he became part owner. He remained as editor until his death on April 1, 1893, aged 70.[3] He was sternly adverse to any publicity about himself or his activities. The obituary editorial in the *Bulletin* gives little information about him, although it remarks that he " was fond of music, and of the stage, of polite literature, and of the companionship of men of letters. In his early days he was one of the most welcome, although the least assertive, of the wits and choice spirits that were gathered in the circle of Boker, McMichael, Daugherty, and a kindred group of Philadelphians. . . ." [4] Peacock's perceptive and generous reception of " Corn " deeply moved Lanier, as his letter of January 26, 1875, to the Philadelphian reveals; and he again expresses himself feelingly in this new letter of February 3, reassured by a reply from Peacock, which has apparently not survived, to the earlier letter.

" 64 Center St.
Baltimore, Md.
Feb. 3rd 1875.

" Dear Mr. Peacock:

Your letter has given me a great deal of pleasure. It is really curious

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[1] I wish to thank Mr. R. Norris Williams, 2nd, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for their permission to publish these letters. The words in brackets in the text of the letters were deleted by Lanier.

[2] *Centennial Edition of the Works of Sidney Lanier*, ed. Charles R. Anderson et al. (Baltimore, 1945), IX, 149, n. 27—hereinafter referred to as *Works*. See also Aubrey Harrison Starke, *Sidney Lanier, A Biographical and Critical Study* (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 199-200.

[3] See " Answers to Queries," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 15, 1955, p. 31. See also J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), III, 2016-2018.

[4] *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, April 3, 1893, p. 4. According to the obituary in the *New York Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1893, p. 2, Peacock was a widower; but no mention is made of children.

how your generous recognition of my little poem has descended upon me in various Avatars of beneficence. One of the most delightful of these was that which took the form of a charming acquaintance with Miss Cushman: [5] and I do not at all know how to thank you for having been the *causa causans* (as the Schoolmen used to say) of bringing me into the presence of that great Artist.

—But I only sat down to beg that you will let me know precisely what day you will arrive in Baltimore, and at what hotel you will stop.

Many thanks for the papers, wh. arrived safely.

Your friend

Sidney Lanier"

The second letter, to J. B. Lippincott & Company, is one of the few surviving letters to that firm.[6] In it Lanier discusses one of the textbooks for which he was making plans in 1879 and 1880. The work that he discusses, "How To Read Chaucer," is perhaps the same as, or similar to, the "Chaucer" he mentions in a letter to Daniel Gilman dated July 13, 1879,[7] and from it he may have developed the *Chaucer and Shakspere*, which was not completed.[8]

"435 N. Calvert St.
Baltimore, Md.
Feby. 6th 1880.

"Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co.:

Dr. Sirs:

Will you be kind enough to let me know the lowest sum for which you can print and make one thousand copies of a work which I send today by express called "How To Read Chaucer." For size of print, binding and general style, take the editions of Shakespere's separate plays by W. J. Rolfe,[9] published by Harper & Bros. as model. Please make the estimate for plates distinct from that for printing and manufacturing. Inasmuch as I have now many pupils waiting for this book, and as there are other reasons why I should desire to get it in print as soon as possible, I specially ask that you will let me have the estimate by Tuesday of next week, so that I might come over on the following Friday—which is my [free] off day from lectures, here—in order to arrange details.

Perhaps I should add that this book is the first of a series which I hope to print—if I should find it within the means at my control—specially designed for a course in English literature which I have arranged with particular reference to bringing the student in contact with the literature itself rather than the *history* of literature—which is all that the current

[5] For Charlotte Saunders Cushman (1816-1876), the famous actress, see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[6] *Works*, VII, lxiii and n. 160.

[7] *Works*, X, 132.

[8] *Works*, IV, 304-345. See also X, 207-208, 213-214, 266-268.

[9] For Rolfe (1827-1910), teacher, editor, philologist, see *DAB*. Copies of his forty volume edition of Shakespeare (1871-1884) for Harper & Bros. can be found in almost every library of size in the country.

manuals attempt. These books are to be so arranged as to suit both the general reader, and the academic student in want of a text-book; and their controlling principle is to be the presentation of *complete works* of every author selected, in *original texts*, strictly *expurgated* for reading in families and in girls'-schools, [and] rendered accessible to every reader by interlinear translations where necessary, and with the smallest amount of comment. The series will embrace ten works.

The *ms.* I send is only partially edited, but the plan is clearly stated and exemplified

Very truly yours,
Sidney Lanier"

DAVID BONNELL GREEN

Bryn Mawr College

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN NELSON

The autograph collection of a life-long resident of New Jersey contains a document of special Maryland interest. William Nelson, the collector, assembled among his autographs more than a score of documents written by Nelsons, to many of whom no doubt he was related. The autobiography of John Nelson (1796-1860), printed on the following pages provides some new information about this little-known Marylander. It is written on a blue folio double-sheet typical of the mid-19th century. There is no explanation of the reason for its preparation. We can date the document by the references to the close of the John Tyler administration (1845). The autobiography corrects statements that appear in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1927), p. 1351, and in Howard Marraro's article, "John Nelson's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 1831-1832," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (1949), 150. The text follows:

"I was born in Frederick Maryland, on the 1st day of April 1796 and received the usual English and classical education in the Academy of that Town—

"In 1808 I was placed under the guardianship of Bishop James Madison, the then President of William and Mary College, at Williamsburg Virginia, and graduated in that institution on the fourth of July 1811—

"Returning to the place of my birth, I entered the Law Office, of my father General Roger Nelson, and in 1815 was admitted to practice at the Bar of Frederick which then ranked high for talent, the present venerable Chief Justice [1] being at the head of it, and at zenith of his professional reputation—

[1] Roger B. Taney.

" I was at once introduced into a very large and profitable practice which I pursued with great assiduity, when in 1820 I was elected to Congress and served in the house of Representatives during the sessions of 1821 & 1822—

" Declining a re-election I again devoted myself laboriously to my profession, until 1825 when the Electoral College of Maryland, in spite of my earnest protestations elected me to the Senate of the State, composed of some of the most eminent men of the Commonwealth, amongst whom were Genl. [Edward] Lloyd, Reverdy Johnson, John C. Herbert and others equally distinguished—

" My term of service expired in 1831, in October of which year I was most unexpectedly invited and urged by General [Andrew] Jackson to proceed to Naples on a special Mission to demand compensation for injuries inflicted upon American Commerce during the reign of Murat— [2] This object I accomplished with complete success after a most arduous negotiation, the particulars of which may be found in Senate Documents No 70, 2 Session 22d Congress The treaty of which it was the result of the 14th Oct. 1832 was the most liberal and satisfactory of our foreign Indemnity arrangements—

" Upon my return to the United States I resolved to remove to Balto., where I resumed my professional Labours and continued there 'til July 1843 when upon the death of Mr. [Hugh S.] Legare I was invited by President Tyler to accept the Office of Attorney General of the U. States— the duties of which I continued to discharge to the close of his administration— Besides attending to the appropriate functions of that office I took a special and active part in conjunction with the lamented Judge [Abel P.] Upshur in the negotiation of the Treaty for the admission of Texas into the Union—and upon the occasion of the accident on board the Princeton which deprived the country of the eminent services of Judge Upshur I was commissioned by President Tyler as Secretary of State ad interim, and occupied that department until I was superseded by Mr. [John C.] Calhoun—

" Of the manner in which the duties incident to these important offices were discharged it does not become me to speak—

" Since the close of Mr. Tylers administration I have been, as before, engaged laboriously in my profession—

" Originally a democrat, I have [served my country [3]] without wavering my connexion with my party—" A rough evil and the rough good report " —and have lived to see its principles vindicated by experience, and recognized by the nationally patriotic throughout the Land—"

FRED SHELLEY

New Jersey Historical Society

[2] Joachim Murat (d. 1815), brother-in-law of Napoleon, King of the Two Sicilies, 1808-1815.

[3] One or two words not deciphered; the sense " served my country " is inserted in brackets in the text.

MEXICAN PRESIDENT IN BALTIMORE

In 1886 Baltimore took little note that a Mexican lad, one Francisco Indalecio Madero, was enrolled in St. Mary's College as a student.[1] This teen-age boy with the burning eyes and short stature was destined as President of Mexico, 1911-1913, to usher in the stormy birth of modern Mexico.

St. Mary's College in that day was located at the site of the present seminary, Druid Hill Avenue and Paca Street. With the boy Francisco were brother Gustavo and other relatives. They were hopeful of learning American customs and language as well as other subjects. Unfortunately, Francisco confessed later, he learned very little due to his language limitations. In his own idiom he had done rather well at the College of San Jose in Mexico.[2] Full of wonder and excitement the boy keenly observed his new surroundings in a strange land.

At thirteen Francisco took great delight in the Baltimore out-of-doors. With great zest he experienced the new-found joys of snow. Speedy descent by sled down vertiginous hills was an exhilarating sport, and gliding along via sleigh-ride added further pleasure. Ever fond of horseback riding, he used frequent opportunities in Baltimore to remind him of his favorite sport on the ranches of his well-to-do family in Coahuila, Mexico. Possibly the outdoor moments proved more stimulating and memorable than the classroom, Francisco admitted in later years.

With great affection and devotion Madero recalled Brother Lagarde of the faculty of St. Mary's. A member of a French New Orleans family and a friend of the Madero clan, Brother Lagarde struck a responsive chord of rapport with the young Francisco. Lagarde's kindness, friendliness, and hospitality ever remained a bright note in Madero's recollections. With deepest gratitude Francisco recorded the merit of this revered tutor.

Vividly Madero described a momentous occasion at school: a battle. During a short recreation period an American classmate and Francisco were at odds; a fight was brewing between them. Soon the other boys were gathering about and encouraging a full-scale fight, but the two checked themselves when they observed the approach of one of the brothers supervising the group. Francisco was shocked to find that the brother openly spurred, rather than prevented, the contest A full-fledged bout of fisticuffs ensued. As the two squared away, Francisco was dismayed to note that he was on a lower level than his rival, a further handicap in addition to his short height. Momentary relief at the arrival of another brother higher in the hierarchy again faded to dismay when he also approved the proceedings. The flurry of arms and fighting bodies mounted in intensity for several minutes amid the circular wall of a

[1] Francisco Madero, " Mis Memorias," in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia y Etnografia*, Book I, cuarta epoca, 1922, pp. 9-10.

[2] Probably the college of that day resembled the academy of the United States, a sort of preparatory school.

frenzied audience. At the close of the fifteen-minute recreation period the fight came to an end. Both boys walked off with " eyes inflamed, noses spurting blood, and faces torn with contusions." But at the fountain each courteously offered the other the first precious drink of water. A polite handshake was exchanged to close the incident.

During this eventful year came news of the death of a favorite brother, Raulito, whose intelligence and noble spirit had endeared him to everyone. An accident with an oil lamp had resulted in a horrible burn, and after a tortured forty-seven hours Raulito had died. Through these hours of intense suffering the boy had preserved a remarkable calm and courage. Francisco felt that the departed brother remained as a sort of guardian angel always.

This school year brought an opportunity for a trip to Paris with other relatives, and Madero continued his education abroad in a city where custom seemed closer to his native land despite greater distance.

HERMAN BAINDER

THE REVEREND WILLIAM HAZLITT IN MARYLAND

On May 26, 1783, the Reverend William Hazlitt with his wife and four children, John, Margaret, William, and Harriet, landed in New York, whence they proceeded to Philadelphia. After living in the city of William Penn for fifteen months, the Hazlitt family moved to Boston, remaining in the vicinity of that city, in Weymouth and Dorchester, for more than two years. During his stay in America, the Reverend William Hazlitt, who was one of the earliest supporters of Unitarian principles in this country, preached in numerous places, but failed to find a permanent position. As a result, he returned to England in December, 1786, and his family followed him the next year, arriving at Portsmouth in August, 1787.

Almost forty-eight years later, in 1835, Margaret Hazlitt began to note down recollections of her father to gratify her nephew, the son of her brother, William Hazlitt, the English critic and essayist, and to record her reminiscences of the various events in the life of the Hazlitt family in America. This invaluable manuscript source of information is now in the possession of the Library of the University of Delaware.

In her account of their life in Philadelphia, based upon old letters and other family papers, as well as her own memories, Margaret Hazlitt wrote:[1]

" Soon after the death of Esther [an infant sister, who died in Philadelphia on September 12, 1783] my father was invited to preach in Maryland. It was a township (as they call their scattered villages, where a field or two intervene between every house). And here in the midst of the forests, & at a distance from the cities, on the coast, he found a respectable & polished society, with whom he would have been happy to

[1] " Margaret Hazlitt's Recollections " (MS, Library of the University of Delaware).

spend his days, & they were very anxious to have him for their pastor. But on the second sunday he was seized with the fever of that country & fainted in the pulpit. Although he might himself, after so severe a seasoning, have been able to have borne the climate, he feared to take his family there. And a stop was put to our being settled with a people so very suitable in many respects. I forget the name of the place, but to Mr Earl, & his family, our everlasting gratitude is due. At this gentleman's house, he was hospitably entertained, & but for the great care, & attention with which he was nursed, he must have died. Nothing could exceed the kindness with which they watched over him, even sending twenty miles for lemons & oranges for him, & providing him with every comfort. Two black men sat up with him every night, & he partly ascribed his recovery to a large draught of water that he prevailed on them to let him have, which, however, had been strictly forbidden. For a long time his family were ignorant of his situation, but at last Dr Ewing & Mr Davidson came to break the matter to my mother, who very naturally concluded he was dead, & it was some time before they could make her believe it was not the case. At length she was convinced that he was recovering, and the next morning my brother John set off to go to him. He went alone, on horseback. He rode through woods & marshes an hundred & sixty miles, in 56 hours, over an unknown country, & without a guide. He was only sixteen at that time, & how he performed so difficult an enterprize astonished every one who knew it. But he was wild with his fears for his father & his affection for him made him regardless of every danger. He found him slowly recovering, but dreadfully weak, & after staying there some weeks, they both returned together. How they got on, I cannot think, but when they came to the door, my father could not get off his horse without help. It was november, & the snow fell for the first time that day. My father was very ill, & weak, for a long time after his return. I recollect he looked very yellow, & sat by the fire, wrapped in a great coat & taking Columbia root. The 23rd of this month, we felt the shock of an earthquake."

In the September, 1920, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* appeared a note on the Reverend William Hazlitt in which the writer mistakenly attributed the passage just cited, as published in William Carew Hazlitt's *Four Generations of a Literary Family*, to William Hazlitt, the author. The writer of this article wondered in which Maryland parish the Reverend William Hazlitt preached, and observed that the mention of the name Mr. Earl suggested Queen Anne's County. Although his reference to Margaret Hazlitt's " Recollections " as the work of her brother William was wrong, the writer's guess of Queen Anne's County as the place where the elder William Hazlitt had visited was right. In his *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development*, Frederic Emory wrote that on October 4, 1783, according to vestry records, " on application of the Rev. Mr. William Hazlitt to be admitted into St. Paul's parish

as a minister and preacher of the gospel, the vestry was unanimously of opinion, he being a dissenter, that they have no authority for admitting him." [2]

It is interesting to note that, contrary to Margaret Hazlitt's version of her father's failure to settle in Maryland, the Reverend William Hazlitt was denied admission into St. Paul's Parish as a minister and preacher. It is also interesting to speculate concerning the career of William Hazlitt if his father had been accepted in Centreville, Maryland. Living on the Eastern Shore, would he have become as great a figure in American literature as he did in that of his native land?

ERNEST J. MOYNE

University of Delaware

[2] Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 176.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685-1763), and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797). By AUBREY C. LAND. Studies in Maryland History, No. 3. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, xviii, 390 pp. $6.

In the hands of devoted genealogists, family histories sometimes read like an Old Testament chronicle of "begats," with vast attention to the marriages and kinships of the family connections but little concern about the family's relation to the history of the times. Fortunately Professor Aubrey Land is more concerned about colonial history than he is about the ultimate cousins of the Dulanys, and he has written a work of genuine importance. His treatment embraces the social and economic history of colonial Maryland as well as the involved and complex political relationships between the proprietary government, the people of the colony, and the British government.

Though the Dulanys left no great archive of family letters, they were so prominent in Maryland that Professor Land has been able to trace most of their activities in the various official records of the colony. "The value of court records," Mr. Land remarks, "has been so often the subject of commentary that another mention would be superfluous were it not that these rewarding and very complete series for colonial Maryland have been insufficiently exploited by students of economic and social history." His own skill in exploiting the colonial records has given a demonstration of method that might be profitably followed by other historians in this field. From bits of evidence gleaned from many scattered sources he has made a synthesis that is authoritative without being pretentious. His documentation is sound without being obtrusive, and his writing is clear, succinct, and highly readable. A book that in the hands of a less skillful craftsman might have been tedious and dull, succeeds not only in bringing to life the Dulanys but in making vivid their milieu.

The rise of the Dulany family is characteristic of the development of many American family dynasties in the colonial period and later. Daniel Dulany the immigrant was a Protestant youth from Queen's County, Ireland, who arrived in Maryland in 1703 with his two brothers. All three came as indentured servants. Daniel, who had spent some time at the University of Dublin, had the good fortune to be sold to Colonel George Plater, who needed a clerk in his law office. The law proved an avenue to advancement, as has so often happened in history, and young Dulany in less than ten years was a practicing lawyer, a landowner, and a respected

citizen of Prince George's county. He had also made a good marriage to Rebecca, daughter of well-to-do Colonel Walter Smith. If anybody looked down on him because he had come over as an indentured servant, that fact was no hindrance to the growth of his reputation and the esteem in which he was held. The origins of colonial immigrants mattered very little provided they had the means of acquiring land and the intelligence and character to make use of their new opportunities as landed proprietors.

Dulany, like many Americans after him, grew wealthy, not merely from the dual activities of lawyer and planter, but from shrewd investments in land. He was one of the first to realize that the rich bottom lands in the interior—what was then the West—represented potential wealth, and he was a forerunner of the land speculators of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Dulany's son Daniel was a worthy successor to his father, and his other children, both sons and daughters, made up a dynasty of social significance to the colony. The elder Dulany was the author of a famous pamphlet, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (1728), but he ended up defending the rights of the proprietary government. His son, regarded as one of the most learned lawyers in the colonies, could not bring himself to use his talents against the mother country, where he had been educated, and he ended by adopting the role of passive loyalist. The country had no use for men who could not serve the new nation with enthusiasm and the Dulany dynasty was left after the war without a political part to play. The male members of the family were scattered and only Daniel Dulany the younger, now no longer young, was left in Maryland to bear the name. The Dulanys were moderates who found it difficult to tear their shirts over any cause, and they suffered the penalties often meted out to moderates.

Besides Dulanys, many other characters come to life in Mr. Land's book. One of the most interesting of these is Thomas Cresap, a person of importance in the new westward movement, one of the farsighted men who perceived the things to come. No one interested in the development of colonial America can afford to ignore Mr. Land's able work, a work that is significant for its grasp of local history in relation to the larger complex of national development.

Louis B. Wright

The Folger Library

Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1808-1861. By Hudson Strode. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955. 460 pp. $6.75.

Across the imperishable canvas of the American Civil War strides a figure about whom the aura of defeat, coldness, and tragedy persists above all others. This man was the first and last president of the Confederate States of America, Jefferson Davis. Above him, Lincoln towers sublimely; and Lee stands supreme as the great hero of the lost cause. The marble figure is yet to be defined for posterity.

Into such a stern and rigid mould has Davis been cast since Appomattox, that biographers have, to a considerable degree, been repelled by him. There exists no thoroughly satisfactory study of this aloof and chilling symbol of the Old South. Perhaps the best efforts to date have been the works by William E. Dodd and Robert McElroy, with that of H. J. Eckenrode running a poor third. Now, Hudson Strode, teacher of Shakespeare and of creative writing at the University of Alabama, and author of some eight travel books, takes up the unenviable task of attempting to breathe life and fire into one of the most controversial and enigmatic figures of the American past. *Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1808-1861*, is the first of a two-volume undertaking by Mr. Strode, the second volume to be a study of Davis as Confederate president and ex-president.

The author's first volume deals with his subject in what may be called his national period. It may surprise the casual lay reader to learn that Jefferson Finis Davis was born in Kentucky amid modest middle-class surroundings, which were unimproved at first after the large family's movement to Mississippi. Young Davis' early years, his sojourn at Transylvania University, his years at West Point and at bleak army posts in the West are beautifully chronicled, as are his marriages to Zachary Taylor's daughter, and, after the latter's early death, to the gracious Varina Howell. He was then established by his wealthy brother, Joseph, on a fine plantation—Brierfield—overlooking the Father of Waters.

An avid reader of history and politics, Davis early formed his consistent and sympathetic views toward state rights. After a short time in the United States House of Representatives, he entered the Mexican War as commander of the "Mississippi Rifles." Wounded in that conflict, he emerged wtih a minor, though well-deserved reputation for meritorious conduct at the Battle of Buena Vista

Upon the death of the Southern champion, John C. Calhoun, Davis became one of the foremost spokesmen for state rights in the United States Senate. Although known as a moderate, he still desired to acquire Cuba and Yucatan for Southern expansion, and stoutly maintained that the Union—which he time and again defended—could be preserved only by permitting slavery to spread to the western territories. He conceived of the South almost as a separate nation within the Union. In 1853 he was named Secretary of War by his good friend, Franklin Pierce, who came to be recognized by many as a Northern man with Southern principles.

Davis reached perhaps his peak of performance in this new post. He tightened up the operating efficiency of the department, sent a military mission—including young George B. McClellan—to the Crimean War, experimented with camels in the southwest, had surveys made of possible routes for a transcontinental railroad, and supported the Gadsden Purchase. He sought to build up the South so as to be equal again with the booming, industrial North in national politics and prestige. After his term as Secretary ended in 1857, Davis resumed his seat in the Senate arena, where he spoke with increasing fervor for the Southern cause. When Mississippi seceded from the Union, Davis acquiesced in her action by leaving the Senate. He was shortly afterward named president of the newly-formed Confederacy.

Mr. Strode has told this story well, with considerable literary skill, and in such a way that interest never flags. And he has done more. He has made of Davis a real and believable human being—a man possessed of great personal charm and grace, both with his intimate friends and social inferiors. He has introduced some hitherto unused Davis correspondence which tends to reveal his subject as anything but the ever-frigid, distant figure history has made of him. However, Mr. Strode has been unable to convince this reviewer that Davis was warm-hearted in his official dealings with persons other than his close coterie of friends. The author's viewpoint is that of a Southern admirer of Davis, one who condones most of his actions and admits of but few minor faults. In short, Mr. Strode has at times overstated his case.

Also, the work is marred in places by either careless work or by unfamiliarity with well-known works. A number of names are misspelled; such as, McClelland for McClellan, Mearnes for Mearns, Chestnut for Chesnut, and Cullom for Cullum. There are no maps of the military actions, and the index leaves much to be desired. Then, too, Mr. Strode gives undue credence and weight to stories told by aged people of events recollected from their childhood, and to accounts of intimate friends, relatives, and close supporters of Davis. The work—largely undocumented—is based to a considerable degree on secondary works, and ignores many well known monographs and studies of merit, such as Roy F. Nichols' *Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* and *Disruption of American Democracy*, and Allan Nevins' *Ordeal of the Union*, to mention only three. Mr. Strode distorts or is unaware of the true nature of the tariff after 1846, the origins of the Ostend Manifesto, and the motivation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The author's gravest error is his apparent acceptance of Davis' view that the North was involved in deliberate efforts to exclude the South from a position of equality in the Union. Davis' inability to perceive that it was the inevitable results of economic and social forces that was pushing the South into an inferior position in the Union was a limitation of his powers of observation. So too is Mr. Strode's inability to recognize the true nature of these situations a shortcoming of his otherwise useful and stimulating book. Even so his volume must be saluted as the best one yet to appear on the pre-Civil War Davis. We look forward hopefully to his second volume on this important Southerner.

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

The Pennsylvania State University

The Loyalists of New Brunswick. By ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT. Fredericton, New Brunswick (Address inquiries to author, 407 Island Park Drive, Ottawa 3, Canada), 1955. 365 pp. $4.50.

This addition to the growing body of literature dealing with those who remained loyal to the Crown during the Revolution is most welcome.

Eventually such monographs will make possible a properly comprehensive study of the loyalists, a study which will supersede the standard work written a half-century ago by C. H. Van Tyne.

Dr. Wright, trained in economics yet a competent amateur genealogist, has produced a sound and interesting history and presents the social realities of the settling of the loyalists in New Brunswick. She has worked from official papers, from the archives of eight counties, of two provinces, of the Dominion and of the Empire. She has used, also, the military papers of Henry Clinton, and those of Guy Carleton. Secondary writings are little used; apparently few exist in the field of New Brunswick history.

No doubt the major contribution is the social analysis of some six thousand male adults who arrived in New Brunswick during the years 1783 to 1785. Contradicting the belief common in New Brunswick today, Dr. Wright reports that among those soldiers and refugees, aristocrats and college graduates were few and that but six per cent hailed from Massachusetts. Of the six thousand listed forty per cent had resided in the province of New York, twenty-two per cent came from New Jersey while thirteen per cent were from Connecticut. Furthermore, Dr. Wright affirms that sampling shows fully ninety per cent of these New Brunswick loyalists as being American by birth, a signal corrective to Van Tyne's conclusion that loyalists were loyalists, in the main, because they were not native Americans. As long ago as 1915, H. E. Egerton pointed to Van Tyne's error in method, but historians have done little since to test Van Tyne's conclusion. By a curious reversal, extensive sampling of the individuals composing the Pennsylvania Line has indicated that the soldiers making up that revolutionary corps were but thirty per cent American-born. Obviously, it is unwise to deduce merely from data on geographic origin either toryism or whiggery.

In a most valuable appendix, Dr. Wright lists the six thousand New Brunswick loyalists in alphabetical sequence with condensed data on each. This catalog is comparable in scope and authority to Ontario's famous U. E. List.

It must be said, however, that the single map provided by the author serves the reader's purposes but poorly. Moreover, annotation is a little less than complete, especially for chapter IX where most of the notes were somehow lost.

Maryland readers of Dr. Wright's volume will find but scattered references to their own state, since few Marylanders reached New Brunswick. There was in existence in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland an extensive pro-British "underground" known as the Associated Loyalists; however, few of the group migrated. In 1782, as the struggle was drawing to an end, they notified the Crown that they would assist, "to the last drop of their Blood," in restoring royal authority, but declared that should Britain weakly relinquish its claim they must consider themselves to be "a deserted People, left in a State of Nature and at Liberty to become Subjects" to the newly-founded governments. All signs indicate that such was their course of action, that most of those who during the war period were loyalist in sympathy remained in their homes and at peace with the new regime.

Marked exceptions were the ill-fated veterans of that provincial regiment known as the Corps of Maryland Loyalists, but only a handful of these survived to reach haven under the flag of the Empire. Disease and the attacks of the Spanish during their tragic tour of duty in West Florida and in the Carribbean had reduced them to 115 officers and men by the time they mustered at New York in 1783. Of these, 37 soldiers with 16 dependents and 4 servants subsequently perished by shipwreck in the Bay of Fundy. The regimental lands reserved opposite Fredericton, New Brunswick, knew but ten of the Corps as permanent settlers.

Perhaps it is legitimate to employ this review as the medium for an appeal that some scholar produce a study of Maryland's loyalists. The records required for such a study exist, and the work is sorely needed.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

Andersonville. By MACKINLAY KANTOR. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1955. 760 pp. $5.00.

The rural calm and remoteness of Sumter County, Georgia, was suddenly shattered by the bite and ring of axes into the tall pines near Anderson Station in February of 1864. Negroes and mules sweated and strained to the commands of gray-uniformed overseers as better than fifteen acres of pine wood became a well-defined clearing surrounded by a stockade of perpendicular pine logs. In the official records of Confederate prison camps this was Camp Sumter, but it lives in history simply as Andersonville. During the fourteen months of its existence more than 50,000 Yankees suffered, starved, died, or survived there.

The attritive process undergone by the prisoners is told by several biographies of individuals who are easily recognizable types. The impact on the community is narrated through the lives of Ira Claffey and his family whose small plantation adjoins the prison. Their story ranges from deep tragedy to a full-blown love affair complete with details of suffering and sex.

Of particular interest to Marylanders will be the author's treatment of General John H. Winder, one of the few historical characters, and the only Marylander, in the book. As commandant of all Confederate prisons he is cast as one of the most depraved characters in a book singularly marked by depravity. As a man whose main concern in life is to kill Yankees General Winder becomes the chief villain of Andersonville. The author paints a vivid picture of his machinations but is strikingly weak in explaining his motivation which was, according to the author, an adolescent trauma occasioned by overhearing some of his boy friends call his father, General William H. Winder, a coward for failing to halt the British at the Battle of Bladensburg in 1814.

That this is a very long book will become apparent to the reader without

checking the number of pages. As good history it leaves much to be desired, for, although the chronology is correct, the text does not justify the interpretation drawn from it, and other problems are avoided by omission. As a novel it is rather static, lacking in both internal unity and suspense. The author, unfortunately, fails to draw any real meaning from all the suffering he recounts despite the great amount of time he devotes to it.

HOWARD P. SNETHEN

The Johns Hopkins University

Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West. By SOLOMON NUNES CARVALHO. Edited with an Introduction by Bertram W. Korn. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954. 328 pp. $4.50.

In the fall of 1853, Colonel John Charles Fremont led his fifth expedition to the Far West to search for the most desirable route for a rail line to the Pacific. In the party, accompanying him as artist and daguerreotypist, was Solomon Nunes Carvalho who enjoyed the unique distinction of having been the first official photographer to be appointed to the staff of an exploring party anywhere in the world. This volume, a republication of the 1857 edition on the centennial of the journey, is the only account of the expedition with a description of all the dangers, hardships, and privation which the party endured. Although Carvalho did not accompany Fremont to the end of the expedition, this book is of value because no other members of the party left behind any written accounts.

The expedition left Westport, Kansas, on a journey which took it through the area now included in the states of Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California. In addition to his description of the places visited, Carvalho has also given us some valuable details of early photographic endeavors as well as an account of the geography of the region. His journal further reveals the great admiration and esteem which many people felt toward Fremont together with Carvalho's recommendation that Fremont should become a candidate for the presidency. Carvalho's accounts are both entertaining and absorbing and in the editor's words, the volume is one which can be both read and enjoyed.

This book should be of interest to Baltimoreans because of Carvalho's participation in the life of the Jewish community of the city. Furthermore, the Maryland Historical Society possesses several of his paintings.

The editor has provided a valuable introduction to the *Incidents* which traces Carvalho's early career, his political activities in behalf of Fremont, and his subsequent business career. For the general reader not too familiar with the history of the American West, this introduction will prove most helpful. Also of value are his biographical notes and his account of his search for extant Carvalho paintings. The Jewish Publication Society is to

be commended for once more making this readable, valuable, and amusing volume available. Its republication should encourage the preparation of additional travel accounts long out-of-print or heretofore unpublished.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

National Records Management Council

The Diamond Cutters and Other Poems. By ADRIENNE CECILE RICH. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. 119 pp. $2.75.

Adrienne Rich has won increasing attention since her first book was selected in 1951 for the Yale Series of Younger Poets Award. Her new volume, *The Diamond Cutters*, will further enhance her reputation. It contains many charming and graceful poems, as well as some which sound a deeper note, and reveals its author as a true poet who knows how to combine the sincere poetic impulse with a remarkably smooth and expert technique.

Miss Rich is not an innovator, her writing shows the influence of many traditional and contemporary styles, but she brings to every theme a freshness of treatment and viewpoint which removes her better poems from the conventional and imitative and gives them life and individuality. Here is a poet who is always thinking. Her sensibility is keenly alert. She seems to be examining each subject from every angle, as one might hold up a crystal goblet to the light and turn it slowly to observe each detail. Indeed some such analogy expresses her own idea of the poet's craft: "Poetry ought to bring a new grasp on reality, to act as a prism-glass on the ordinary light of day," she said in an address before the Maryland Historical Society.[1] So, whether she is contemplating the English countryside from a train, walking in a foreign town on a Christmas morning, or listening to recorders in Italy, she succeeds in making these events vivid by making them meaningful. Considering the position of a tourist abroad, she thinks of him as detached from reality—

> Here he goes untouched,
> And this is alienation. Only sometimes
> In certain towns he opens certain letters
> Forwarded on from bitter origins,
> That send him walking, sick and haunted, through
> Mysterious and ordinary streets
> That are no more than streets to walk and walk—
> And then the tourist and the town are one.

And so she reaches the conclusion:

> To work and suffer is to be at home.
> All else is scenery.

Descriptions—and they are often beautiful descriptions—of Merton College, Versailles, the Charles and Concord Rivers, all show this same pre-

[1] Adrienne Cecile Rich, "Some Influences of Poetry upon the Course of History," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952), 281.

occupation: to catch the philosophical or psychological meaning of the scene and reveal it to us in colors hitherto unguessed.

Yet though, in the title poem, Miss Rich likens the poet's craft to that of a diamond cutter, dealing with hard, intractable material, there is nothing cold, contrived, or purely cerebral about her work. One feels indeed she "kept silent until she had something to say." That is why this little volume can be read with real pleasure, even though it is permeated by a strain of sadness—the traditional, elegaic strain of English poetry—for it conveys a sense of song and warm sincerity.

F. Garner Ranney

Maryland Historical Society

The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. By Frederick L. Weis. Boston, 1955. vii, 100 pp.

This, the fourth in a series of volumes listing colonial clergy, is a volume of interest to Maryland readers. Many of the Virginia clergymen (two-thirds of the list) served also in Maryland. Virginia and Carolina records, of course, often aid in Maryland genealogical research. Eight Maryland ministers, omitted from the appropriate volume, are listed in the addenda on page ninety-nine.

It is no disparagement of the sincere and devoted colonial clergy to wonder if such a man as Patrick Lunan was "an unquestioned leader in his time and place" (pp. vi, 32). The straightforward account in G. M. Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, II, 324 *ff.* disagrees. Indeed the compiler often claims too much in his laudatory treatment of the clergymen.

Fred Shelley

New Jersey Historical Society

Acadian Odyssey. By Oscar William Winzerling. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. 224 pp. $4.85.

Obviously a product of careful research, *Acadian Odyssey* describes the exile of a people known to many laymen only through Longfellow's "Evangeline." Although the Maryland settlers and others are mentioned it chiefly concerns the large number of Acadians who were exiled first to England, then to France, and who, after many weary years, were finally settled, under a Spanish king, in Louisiana. The book contains many statistics, an impressive bibliography and is fully annotated and indexed.

Catherine M. Shelley

Famous Signers of the Declaration. By DOROTHY H. MCGEE. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1955. vii, 307 pp.

There are few more famous groups of men in history than the fifty-six who signed the Declaration of Independence. Coming from many walks of life and representing thirteen scattered states, these men pledged lives, fortunes, and sacred honor when they affixed their signatures to the immortal document. Some of their names are known to us all, but others are hard even for the specialist to recognize. The book under review, designed primarily for readers of junior high school age and up, should serve splendidly to instruct younger readers and remind others of the men and circumstances that brought about the Declaration. Miss McGee has used standard studies and recent books, supplemented by research in each original state.

Maryland readers will turn quickly to chapters twenty and twenty-one. Charles Carroll of Carrollton is given a whole chapter. Samuel Chase gets the lion's share of the other chapter, while William Paca is allotted one page and poor Thomas Stone is discussed in four lines. One wonders if a local scholar should be commissioned to write an exhaustive article on Stone for future publication in this journal.

The illustrations, the format, and the style commend the book to younger readers and to those who would encourage their reading of patriotic subjects.

FRED SHELLEY

New Jersey Historical Society

The Abbé Correa in America, 1812-1820: The Contributions of the Diplomat and Natural Philosopher to the Foundations of Our National Life: Correspondence with Jefferson and Other Members of the Philosophical Society and with Other Prominent Americans. By RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955. 111 pp. $2.

In accordance with a fashion which was still prevalent in the days of the Abbé Correa, Professor Davis has given a summary of his book on the title-page, a practice abhorrent to all bibliographers, but not without a certain amount of utility for the prospective reader. About one third of the work is devoted to a biographical sketch of the Abbé and his contributions to our national life; the remainder consists of letters which passed between the natural philosopher-diplomat and his American friends, including a few from the Abbé's son to the friends.

A liberal-minded and patriotic Portuguese whose intellectual accomplishments were highly regarded among Europeans, but whose political philosophy was distasteful to the ultra-conservatives of his own country and Napoleonic France, the sixty-two year old Abbé Correa da Serra left reactionary Europe and arrived in America in 1812 full of enthusiasm for

the budding democracy. His brilliant conversation, liberalism and scientific interests quickly put him in the center of the Jeffersonian circle. His knowledge and industry were utilized on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences and young devotees of science with much benefit to American culture.

When he was appointed in 1816 as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States by his native country of Portugal, the cordiality between the Abbé and the Americans began to cool, for the activities of the Americans in Brazil and their attitude towards the Latin American countries were inimical to the interests of Portugal, loyally defended by the Abbé. By the time he took his leave of America in 1820, the aged, weary, and frequently sick diplomat was somewhat disillusioned by the bent on gain and political chicanery he had seen in the backwoods democracy, but the natural philosopher left behind him a leavening influence in the arts and sciences, as Professor Davis has shown. While the Americans were entering a period of political isolationism, the Abbé provided one of the links for the transmission of European civilization into American culture at a time when the growth of learning in the New World was dependent on European leadership.

F. C. H.

Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940. By STEVENSON WHITCOMB FLETCHER. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955. xx, 619 pp. $3.50.

A companion volume to the author's *Pennsylvania Argriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (1950), this work completes his history of technological, economic and social advance of Pennsylvania agriculture through three centuries. The land, the farmer, crops, dairying, transportation and marketing are reviewed and analysed in terms of economics and technology while on the social aspect the author discusses the agricultural organizations, agricultural education and research, the farm home, country life and rural schools and churches. The work is based on extensive source materials and brings into focus the transformation of agriculture in Pennsylvania from a simple self-sufficing occupation to a highly commercial enterprise.

A Bibliography of Indiana Imprints 1804-1853. By CECIL K. BYRD and HOWARD H. PECKHAM. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau: 1955. xxi, 479 pp.

A work begun in an effort to combine existing bibliographies of Indiana imprints and to extend the range of inquiry to cover the first fifty years of publishing in the state, this bibliography should prove useful to students of Indiana history. It includes broadsides and sheet music as

well as books. Users are warned by the compilers that the list of copies in the *Bibliography* is not a census, since after a half dozen copies of an item were located, no further effort was made to find additional ones. It is interesting to note that Maryland libraries are sometimes mentioned among the locations of copies.

The format of the *Bibliography* is attractive and practical, and there is little doubt that this will be the standard work on the subject of Indiana imprints for the years covered.

Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register, 1675-1679, West Side Delaware River, from Newcastle County, Delaware, into Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Edited by ALBERT COOK MYERS. Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1955. 112 pp. $4.

The original Register comprises thirty-six written pages, nearly all in the handwriting of Wharton himself, containing Fifty surveys (only seven of which have been printed before) of tracts of land from Saint Georges Creek (now New Castle County, Delaware) northward to Neshaminy Creek (now Bucks County, Pennsylvania). Over 100 names of early Swedish, Dutch, and English settlers of Delaware and Pennsylvania are included in the index. In addition to the intrinsic antiquarian interest in the document, it will prove valuable to genealogists and those seeking information on old patents and place names.

Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution. Books G.-H. Edited by WYLMA ANNE WATES. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955. vii, 123 pp. $3.50.

South Carolina faced the problem of carrying on the Revolution while occupied by the enemy after the fall of Charles Town in 1780. To keep the army in the field a remarkable system of credit was used. In return for military duty or supplies, receipts were given with a promise to pay when conditions were more stable. Now in a collection called Accounts Audited, these receipts being edited by Wylma Wates provide a wealth of economic information about Revolutionary South Carolina and in many cases furnish the only proof of military service by an individual.

The Parish Under God, 1855-1955. Baltimore: The Church of the Redeemer, 1955. 124 pp.

This attractively printed and illustrated history of the Church of the Redeemer and review of its activities is a deserving tribute to the Church

itself. Included in the history is a sketch of the Perine family, so influential in the establishing of the Church, and the seven rectors of the Church, the Reverend J. Campbell White, Samuel Rowell Sargeant, George Clement Stokes, Milton Horace Mill, Charles Albert Hensel, Richard Henry Baker, and Bennett Jones Sims. Well-written, and informative, the inherent interest in the history will be heightened for many by the inclusion of charming anecdotes.

A History of Bethel Evangelical United Brethren Church of Chewsville, Maryland. By the Rev. D. Homer Kendall. Quincy Orphanage Press, [1955]. 69 pp.

In celebration of its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, the Reverend Mr. Kendall has prepared this interesting and informative history of the Bethel Church whose founding was to a large extent the result of the labors of George Adam Geeting, friend of Philip Otterbein. Many lists, charts, tables and photographs add to the completeness of the history.

NOTES AND QUERIES

House and Garden Pilgrimage and *Forum*—In connection with the 1956 Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage a forum for discussion of the arts and interior decoration will be held on two succeeding days, April 30-May 1. The dates for the Pilgrimage are Wednesday, April 25 through Sunday, May 6. Full information regarding the tours can be obtained from the Pilgrimage Headquarters, 217 Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, or from the Washington office of the American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street, N. W.

The Forum will be sponsored by the Maryland Historical Society, the Federal Garden Clubs of Maryland and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. The program follows:

Monday, April 30, 2:30 P. M.—" Some Regional Aspects of American Furniture," by Ralph E. Carpenter, Jr., Newport, R. I.; 3:30 P. M.—" Clothing Worn by Our Maryland Ancestors," by Margaret W. Brown, Smithsonian Insitution; 8:30 P. M.—" How to Restore An Old House," by Charles E. Peterson, Architect, National Park Service.

Tuesday, May 1, 10:30 A. M.—" Early American Silver and Silversmiths," by Louisa Dresser, Worcester Art Museum; 11:30 A. M.—" European Influence on American Glass," by Thomas S. Buechner, Corning Museum of Glass; 2:30 P. M.—" Antiques, Real and Imaginary," by Alice Winchester, Editor *Antiques Magazine;* 3:30 P. M.—General discussion, Professor Richard H. Howland, Johns Hopkins University, Moderator.

Admission to Forum—both days, $6.00 if purchased in advance; one-day both sessions, $3.50; one session only, $2.00.

Coe College Midwest Heritage Conference—A conference on the heritage of the American middle west will be held at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 5-7. The " Beginnings," the " Intellectual Heritage " and " Culture and Society " will form the subject matter of each successive day, highlighted by talks on particular subjects by well-known historians. Reservations or further information may be secured from Dr. John J. Murray, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland—For the information of interested readers this Society, founded in Baltimore in 1886, has its office at 1212 Cathedral Street, Room 21, Baltimore 1, Md. Its president is Professor William Kurrelmeyer of the Johns Hopkins University and its secretary is Professor Dieter Cunz of the University of Maryland.

Augustine Herman Czech Society—It would be greatly appreciated if the descendants of Herman who are not members of this Society would contact Mrs. Agnes Svejda, 3912 Loch Raven Boulevard, Baltimore 18, Md. The Society will celebrate the naming of Maryland State Highway 213 as the Augustine Herman Highway on April 22 at the Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel. A pilgrimage to Bohemia Manor will also be made in the Spring, but the date has not been set at this time. Please contact Mrs. Svejda about April 1 for information on this event.

Presbyterian Meeting House—The Old Presbyterian Meeting House in Alexandria, Virginia, has been the recipient of a grant from a foundation to undertake historical research and restoration, with particular emphasis on its graveyard. Any information on the church and its ministers, or any newspaper notices, manuscripts, broadsides, or a copy of the lottery held for the laying out of the graveyard would be most welcome. Two U. S. Presidents have been buried from this church. The tomb of the Child of the Revolution lies in the yard. Please contact the Research and Restoration Committee of the Meeting House if you have any material.

Old Dover Days—The Friends of Old Dover are sponsoring tours of Dover, Delaware, Saturday, May 5, and Sunday, May 6. Descriptive folders may be obtained by writing to Mrs. C. Douglas Motley, P. O. Box 44, Dover, Del.

Instruments of Punishment—If anyone knows of the whereabouts of Colonial instruments of punishment, such as leg irons or whips, please contact

HUGH F. RANKIN, Research Associate,
Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va.

Fitzhugh of "Chatham"—I solicit information in regard to William Fitzhugh, Esq. (1741-1809) builder of "Chatham," in Stafford County, Va. Particularly wanted are his ledgers, accounts, letter books and correspondence of any kind. William Fitzhugh moved from "Chatham" to Alexandria, Va. *circa* 1800. He was one of the wealthiest men of his time owning besides "Chatham," "Ravensworth" in Fairfax County, and "Somerset" and "Eagle's Nest" in King George County as well as large acreage in Spotsylvania and Fauquier Counties. He married Ann Randolph (1747-1805) of "Chatsworth," Henrico County. Their only son, William Henry Fitzhugh (1792-1830) married Anna Maria Goldsborough (1796-1874) of Maryland and it is said she was possessed of some of the Fitzhugh papers. The only child of William and Ann (Randolph) Fitzhugh to leave issue was Mary Lee Fitzhugh (1788-1853) who married George Washington Parke Custis of "Arlington" and their daughter Mary Ann Randolph Custis married General Robert Edward Lee.

George H. S. King
1301 Prince Edward Street, Fredericksburg, Va.

Smith—I am seeking the names of the parents, date of birth, and other information about Gilbert Hamilton Smith, a tobacco planter in Ann Arundel County who married Miss Lidia Kilty, sister of Chancellor William Kilty, in 1774.

Mallory Page Hull
1423 First Street, New Orleans 13, La.

Benson—Information is requested on the parentage, brothers and sisters of Catherine M. Benson who was born in Talbot County around 1790. Her maiden name may have been Townsend. She married James Benson in 1808 or 1809, and died in 1845.

Mrs. Horace K. Armour
114 Goldsborough St., Easton, Md.

Leeds—I am trying to ascertain the name of the wife of Timothy Leeds. He came to this country in 1607 with Captain John Smith. I would also like to know the name of the wife of Timothy Leeds' son William.

Henrietta Kerr Hall
Glenndale, Md.

Griffin—I will pay $10 for the names of the parents of George Griffin, millwright, who lived in Baltimore for 87 years. He married Ann Nichols, Sept. 8, 1808, fought at North Point and Fort McHenry in 1814, and died Apr. 9, 1872. His daughter Hester Ann Griffin married on Dec. 14, 1843, William G. Fletcher.

Robert Griffin Smith
827 South Minnesota St., New Ulm, Minn.

Dashiell—I am trying to bring up-to-date that portion of the Dashiell genealogy which stems from Thomas Dashiell (1666) and would appreciate any information available.

E. Stewart Dashiell
Old County Road, Severna Park, Md.

Crawford—I would like to contact descendants of James Crawford, who, in 1724, lived near St. George's Parish, Baltimore (now Harford) County, Md., on a plantation known as "Double Purchase." He died there in 1755. He was a Quaker and a member of the Deer Creek Friends Monthly Meeting at Darlington, Md. His children, also members of Deer Creek were: James, Josiah, Mordecai, John, Elias, Jennett, Rachel, Ruth, Sarah, Hannah, and Rebecca; the first two of whom—James and Josiah are known to have gone with their families to what is now Fayette County, Penn., where they were living in 1765.

Hammond Crawford
Bunnydale Farms, Mantua, Ohio.

Filson—I request information about William Filson, "now of Linganore Hundred, Frederick County," June 8, 1767. He died intestate before Mar. 17, 1768. His wife's name was Jane, and they had ten children. Three were named John, Christopher, and David. I would also like to have the names of the other children.

John Walton,
P. O. Box 422, The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore 18, Md.

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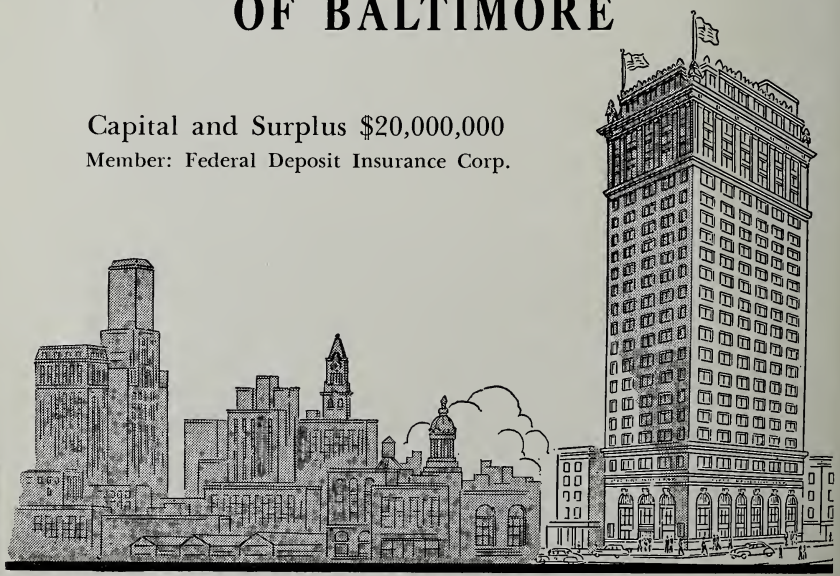

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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

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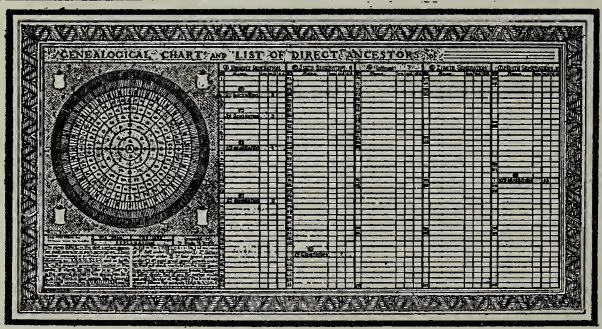

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COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

By Kenneth Scott

AS EARLY as 1638 the Maryland Assembly read but did not pass an act making it treason to counterfeit the king's coin.[1] Later, in 1661, when the legislative body provided for the setting up of a mint to strike silver money, it was voted that every offence of clipping, scaling, counterfeiting, washing, or in any way diminishing such coin was to be punishable with death and forfeiture of all lands and goods to the Lord Proprietor,[2] an act which was in 1676 confirmed among the perpetual laws.[3]

The next legislation concerned with counterfeiting was inspired by the activities of Richard Clarke and his followers. On February

[1] Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland at Large* (Annapolis, 1765), 1638, chap. II, 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1661, chap. IV.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1676, chap. II.

22, 1705, the provincial council, satisfied that "Richard Clarke and Benjamine Celie doe lye out from the Inhabitants and ride armed threatning the Death of Severall of her Majestys good Subjects here and putting the Inhabitants in Terrour of their Lives & Robing their houses," ordered the proclamation of a reward of ten pounds for taking "each or either" of them.[4] Apparently Clarke was to have been seized by the rangers under the command of Lieutenant Charles Beale. The lieutenant, however, was guilty of "mismanagement" and did not do his duty "with any Sort of Discipline or Sence." The council, nevertheless, on April 10, 1705, decided to pass over the lieutenant's failure for the sake of his father, Colonel Beale, but it was ordered that Charles Beale be cautioned "to use more Discretion in the ffuture."

Clarke's companion, Benjamine Celie, was arrested and imprisoned in the jail of Anne Arundel County, from which he broke out, in the company of an Indian and felon, on Sunday, March 25. He was, however, recaptured and by an act of assembly was transported to Barbados. One Humphrye Hernaman was convicted of having aided Celie to escape from jail, and he, too, was transported to Barbados.[6]

At the end of June, 1705, it was discovered that Clarke's success in avoiding the officers of the law was partly due to the help of friends, for one Edward Moriarte admitted he had let Clarke "have horse & boate."[7] For some two years Clarke eluded the authorities and in this period he undertook to counterfeit coin. In a letter written on June 10, 1707, by Governor Seymour to the Lords of Trade is found this paragraph:[8]

> Richard Clarke and his prodigall Companions lately sett an Expedient on foote to retrieve Some of their Shatter'd fortunes, and carry on their base designes which was forgeing and counterfeiting a considerable Quantity of false money like unto peices of the Eight of Spaine and the Dollars of the Low Countrys which they made of pewter glass and other mixt Mettall but the Cheate being presently detected, the Assembly made An Act to punish Such like Offenders, & the Utterrers of Such false moneys.

And among those involved in the counterfeiting were doubtless one Harrison and certainly Captain Silvester Welch. On August

[4] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 185.
[5] *Ibid.*, XXV, 186-187.
[6] *Ibid.*, XXV, 188, 207.
[7] *Ibid.*, XXV, 190.
[8] *Ibid.*, XXV, 265-266.

12, 1707, Governor Seymour and the members of the provincial council informed Welch that "they have Account of all his Vilanous Transactions and how Often he has harboured and abetted Rich[d] Clarke and of his Coyning of Dolears and how he had entertained him and his Accomplices. And the Revelling at his house & fireing pistolls on S[t] Stevens day last with Clarke and Harrison." [9]

To cope with such counterfeiting the previously mentioned act of assembly was passed and signed by Governor Seymour on April 15, 1707. It read: [10]

Forasmuch as Diverse Evill Disposed Persons have of late forged and Counterfeited Severall Forreigne Coyns Comonly Received amongst her Maj[tys] Subjects of this Province for Curr[t] in paym[t] to the great Damage of her Maj[tys] s[d] Subjects being thereunto Encouraged for th[t] there has not heretofore been any Condigne punishm[t] by Law Pvided for such offenders wherefore & in order to Deterr such Like Offenders for the future from such Evill & pnitious practices:

Be it Enacted by the Queens most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and Consent of her Maj[tys] Governour Councill & Assembly and the Authority of the same that if any Pson or Psons after the Publication of this Act falsely forge Counterfeit or Clip any such kind of Coyn of Gold or Silver as is not the Pper Coyn of the Kingdom of England or shall aid assist or Abett any offender or offenders doing the same Either by Concealing them or by any other ways or means Countenance such offenders in their said offences Every such offender his aiders abetters and Countenancers therein for the first offence shall be Whip't Pilloured and Crop't in both Ears and for the second offence shall be Branded on the Cheek and banished upon due Conviction in any of her Maj[tys] Courts of Record within this Province.

In 1729, however, the assembly repealed the part of the act relating to clipping, "foreasmuch as such Coins, both of Gold and Silver, do at this Time pass current by Weight, and not by Tale, as heretofore, whereby the Mischiefs of Clipping of Foreign Coins is now in some Measure necessary for the making of Change." [11]

Richard Clarke, whose coining had brought about the passing of the act, made a gesture to yield himself to the authorities, for on January 30, 1707, he wrote a letter to Governor Seymour, which he dropped at David Bell's mill. In it he expressed "a deep sence

[9] *Ibid.*, XXV, 222.
[10] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 144-145 and *Laws of Maryland*, 1707, chap. IV.
[11] *Laws of Maryland*, 1729, chap. II.

of the Horrour and detestation of his Crimes and that he lyes under the Denomination of a Traytor to her Majesty and Offers to Submitt himself to his Excy's Mercy." [12] His deeds, unfortunately, did not accord with his words, for on June 10, 1707, Seymour wrote to the Board of Trade in these terms: [13]

> Upon a new discovered peice of Villany that Richard Clarke with his Gange of Runaway Rogues had concerted to Seize on our Magazine, and burne this Towne and Port of Annapolis, & then Steale a Vessell and turne pyrates, where they thought it most Feasable: All means having prov'd ineffectual to apprehend and bringe the said Clarke to Justice, The Assembly, for the better Security of the province, and to deterr any from associating with him past An Act to attaint him of high Treason: And this province has already and is Still like to be no little Charge and trouble upon his Account. For altho' he is one of the Greatest of Villains, Yet (especially in this County of Ann Arundell) he has So many neare Relations that Wee find it very difficult to discover his haunts. And what is worse out of a foolish Conceipt of his being a Stout Fellow, and Country borne, the Natives being now growne up, and most of them in Offices, are very backward, if not altogether unwilling to bring him in, could they conveniently meet with him.

Some of Clarke's friends and associates are known: Joseph Hill, a member of the house of delegates, was expelled "for adhering to, assisting; & corresponding with the said Clarke." [14] Captain Silvester Welch, who told how at about ten o'clock on a Sunday night in July, 1707, in John Jacob's pasture, he "mett with Richard Clarke upon a Lusty Gray Horse" and who stated that Clarke "had a pistoll Stuffd within his Jackett on his left Side a naked Rapier hanging on his wrist & a good lusty Stick," [15] was really one of Clarke's associates.[16] On August 12, 1707, the sheriff brought before the provincial council a certain Richard Snowden, who "tould of his harbouring Entertaining and Concealing Richard Clarke in his house" and who said he was "very sorry for it." Snowden admitted that one Thomas Winter had put Clarke's sails in his house and that several women had visited Clarke at his, Snowden's, home. Finally, he said, "Clarke's wife came and told him that the Sloope was Seized. He immediately rusht out and bad God bless them all and went away." [17]

[12] *Archives*, XXV, 236. This letter was read at a meeting of the court at St. James's on Apr. 29, 1707.
[13] *Ibid.*, XXV, 262-263.
[14] *Ibid.*, XXV, 263.
[15] *Ibid.*, XXV, 218-219.
[16] *Ibid.*, XXV, 222.
[17] *Ibid.*, XXV, 221-222.

The government intensified its efforts in the spring of 1708, and, despite such threats as that of William Chew of Baltimore County that there were 300 men in that county who would "stand by" Clarke,[18] the outlaw was taken and brought before the council on March 27, 1708. His confession justified no further consideration and it was not such as to induce the council to seek a royal pardon for him, so on April 3 it was ordered that Clarke, "attainted of high Treason and Fellony," be executed on Friday next.[19]

In 1731, an act was passed, subject to the approval of the Lord Proprietor, for the emission of the first paper bills of credit, to the amount of £36,000. As the approval was not secured, no money was issued.[20] Two years later, however, an act for issuing £90,000 in bills was passed, and it contained a clause providing death without benefit of clergy for counterfeiters, their aiders or abettors, or knowing passers of counterfeits of these bills.[21] The government displayed zeal in protecting this emission, for, on March 19, 1734, Governor Samuel Ogle, in a speech to the upper and lower houses, praised the care Lord Baltimore "has taken to prevent the counterfeiting of our Paper Money," while two days later John Mackall, speaker of the lower house, remarked: "The Difficulty, if not Impossibility, of Counterfeiting these Bills, cannot fail of adding to their real Worth." [22]

The authorities, however, were overly optismistic about their money. At the October term of the provincial court, held in Annapolis in 1734, the jurors presented a certain person unknown, who "did feloniously forge and Counterfeit" five bills of twenty shillings each. At the same time a grand jury also indicted John Malcom, alias Malcolm, late of Charles County, laborer, for having knowingly passed the bills in question on August 27, 1743. Malcom plead not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to be hanged in Anne Arundel County.[23]

[18] *Ibid.*, XXV, 238.
[19] *Ibid.*, XXV, 238, 240.
[20] *Laws of Maryland*, 1731, chap. XXI and *Archives*, XXVII, 347.
[21] *Laws of Maryland*, 1733, chap. VI; *Archives*, XXXIX, 110; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1735.
[22] *American Weekly Mercury*, April 4, 1734; *Archives*, XXXIX, 144, 145, 153.
[23] Judgments 30 A. E. I. No. 7, 1742-1744. J.J.h. Com., pp. 316-317, Hall of Records, Annapolis; cf. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1743, where in a dispatch from Annapolis, dated Oct. 27, it is stated that in the provincial court two men had been condemned for passing counterfeit money and that the bills were forged with a pen by persons unknown.

In the course of this session the jurors likewise presented a person unknown for counterfeiting four Maryland ten shilling bills and also Robert Basnett, of Anne Arundel County, laborer, for knowingly passing those notes on September 30. Basnett, like Malcom, pleaded not guilty but was convicted and sentenced to die on the gallows.[24] Aaron Liddenburgh (or Lidenburgh) of Queen Anne's County, a schoolmaster, was presently indicted as the counterfeiter of the four bills, and Joseph Elliott, planter, of the same county, was presented as Liddenburgh's aider and abettor. Elliott was released under bail of £200, half of which he provided and half of which was furnished by James Sodler and John Elliott.[25] At the session of court in April, 1744, Elliott appeared, but, when nothing was objected to him, he and his securities were discharged. The schoolmaster, less fortunate, was put on trial, and the witnesses against him were Robert Basnett, Lewis Delaroochbroome, Robert Gordon, Jacob Lusby, Mary Stewart, Charles Basnett, Samuel Blunt and Thomas Spears. Liddenburgh was convicted and sentenced to be hanged.[26] John Malcom had already been executed toward the end of December, 1743.[27]

The death penalty did not deter persons from counterfeiting foreign coin, for the *Maryland Gazette* of March 22, 1749, warned that three sorts of false milled dollars, two dated 1741 and the other 1744, were in circulation. In those dated 1744 in the word VTRAQUE the R and A were too far apart, so that the one word looked like two. In one variety of those dated 1741 the A in HISPAN. was much too small for the rest; in the other type the space where the date was placed was much broader than in true coins, while the left side of the crown on the left hand pillar was directly under the A in VTRAQUE, but in genuine pieces it fell between the R and the A. The bad money was well milled, though the letters were not as well done and regular as in the true ones. There was but two shillings eight pence worth of silver in them and the rest was copper. If a little of the silvered surface were scraped away and the spot then sullied by being rubbed on the short hair of a man's head, the brassy complexion

[24] Judgments, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-318.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 319.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 477-478.
[27] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 11, 1744.

would appear. When placed on the end of a finger and struck with a small key, the false coins yielded a shriller sound than the genuine. Several Germans were jailed for coining and passing them but the principal workman fled, presumably with his tools.

The *Maryland Gazette* of October 25, 1749, reported that a man upon whom a plate and some very poorly made counterfeit Maryland bills, unsigned, had been found was in jail in Newcastle. From the November 1 number of the same newspaper [28] it is clear that the prisoner was Joseph Wilson, who, with Isaac Wright, had been brought to Annapolis. Both men, however, were remanded back to Cecil County for trial before a special court of oyer and terminer. Some twenty shilling bills, unsigned, and one signed, had been discovered in Wilson's pocketbook, together with the plate. The few five shilling bills which had been passed were poorly done throughout, especially the motto, in which ED was printed instead of the correct ET. The other denomination, though better executed, revealed the fraud in every line and almost every word.

After a short trial on November 15, when his accomplice, Wright, turned evidence against him, Wilson was convicted and sentenced to death. The plates for both the twenty and five shilling bills had been found, and it appeared that the counterfeiters had passed eight of the five shilling bills but none of the others. Before the sentence had been carried out, on the night of November 17, Wilson broke out of the Cecil County jail at the courthouse on Elk River and made his escape.[29] The following day Thomas Colvill proclaimed a hue and cry after the escaped felon, and Sheriff Michael Earle offered a reward of ten pounds for the fugitive, who was described [30] as remarkably tall, pale, strong-featured and middle-aged. Usually he wore a cap under his hat and he was clothed in a blue coat with a red lining and brass buttons, old red plush breeches, thread stockings and pumps with brass buckles. He was very audacious and talkative and good at many trades, such as those of watchmaker and saddler, but when taken he was a schoolmaster in Newcastle County, Pennsylvania. This old offender, who was well acquainted with most parts of North America, had also been at sea and might pretend to be a sailor, the public was warned.

[28] Cf. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 30, 1749.
[29] *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1749; cf. *New-York Evening Post*, Jan. 8, 1750.
[30] *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1749.

On March 14, 1750, the *Maryland Gazette* printed the news that Wilson was "again taken up and secured: being among a gang of People in *New Jersey*, where there happened a Fray (a Thing very common in those Parts) it fell to his Lot to get wounded, by which means he was discovered and taken." Wilson, however, again slipped through the fingers of the law and the last heard of him was the report published in the same newspaper of March 28, 1750, that he had "made his Escape out of the Goal of *Bucks* County, in *Pennsylvania*, where he was confined for being concerned in a late Fray."

In mid-August, 1750, Thomas Lee, president of the council of Virginia, issued a proclamation for the arrest of a gang of coiners consisting of a silversmith of Nansemond County, Low Jackson, his brothers, John and James, and one Edward Rumney. Low Jackson was eventually captured, tried, convicted and hanged.[31] Rumney is of interest for this study because he had been a tavern-keeper in Annapolis. He was described as about forty years of age, of a middle size, of a black complexion, and much addicted to playing billiards and gaming. About July 15, 1750, he had ridden away from Virginia towards Maryland on a small gray horse about thirteen hands high, which he valued as a racer. When he left Virginia he wore a fine Janes coat and breeches of a lead color, with gilt buttons; his coat was made frock fashion, with slash sleeves. As a rule he wore a cap, but he also owned a pale bob wig.[32]

On August 20 Lee wrote to Governor Samuel Ogle of Maryland, requesting that proper measures be taken to send back to Virginia Edward Rumney, who was accused of coining, together with Low Jackson, a great number of false double doubloons. Lee added: "It is a Practice of Mischievous Consequence to the Community, and very proper measures here will be taken to Prevent its Progress."[33] The next day Lee sent a second note to Ogle, enclosing all the proclamations and depositions concerned with the affair. "Rumney," he concluded, "is I Suppose gone by Land to Maryland the Jacksons Escaped in a boat in the Night while their house was beset in order to take them."[34] Rumney had been

[31] See Kenneth Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1953), 5-10, where the story is given in detail.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[33] *Archives*, XXVIII, 486.
[34] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 486.

confined in the Annapolis jail on or before September 27, when Governor Ogle ordered Sheriff John Gassaway to deliver the prisoner to the sheriff of Prince George's County, who was to hand over Rumney to one or more magistrates of Virginia.[35] At the same time Ogle dispatched a letter to President Lee to inform him of what had been done and to point out certain doubts and difficulties in the matter. Rumney was in prison in Maryland for debt, and in order that neither the creditors might suffer nor the sheriffs of that province be made liable for the prisoner's debts in case of an escape, Governor Ogle requested the aid of Lee and especially sought that the criminal should be returned to custody in Maryland if by any chance he were acquitted, pardoned or otherwise discharged.[36]

Ogle's misgivings were justified, for sometime before October 20 Rumney broke out of the jail of Fairfax County. The council of Virginia on November 6, 1750, instructed its clerk to write to the justices of that county to enquire how the prisoner managed to escape, and, if they found any person or persons who assisted in the escape, such person or persons were to be apprehended and sent to Williamsburg for prosecution.[37] As there is no record of Rumney's recapture, it is probable that he made good his escape.

Henceforth no counterfeiting is recorded until February 27, 1752, when the *Maryland Gazette* noted that several false pieces of eight, cast with good pewter or hard metal, had appeared but might readily be recognized as false.[38] The next year, as the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 6, 1753, informed its readers, a German "Newlander" named Daniel Jeffron was arrested in Philadelphia for passing false Maryland ten shilling bills and was committed to prison. In a chest at his lodgings were found nearly one thousand of them, all numbered with the same number, 4452, but not all signed. Jeffron, who had lived for some years near Frederick, said that the currency was printed in Germany. The

[35] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 286-287.
[36] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 488.
[37] *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1750, and *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1945), V, 344.
[38] Reprinted in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 10, 1752, and *New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, Mar. 16, 1752. It is possible that the coiner was William Kerr (see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 11, 25, 1752) or Francis Huff (see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 4, 1752). Both were tried and convicted in Philadelphia and sentenced to be set in the pillory and whipped. Kerr also had one ear cut off and was fined.

engraving was not as neatly done as in the true bills and the word *Maryland* was wanting in the paper.[39]

The news of this threat to Maryland currency soon reached Annapolis, where the *Maryland Gazette* of December 20 carried a summary of the notice from the Pennsylvania paper. Jeffron, it appeared, came during the summer of 1753 with a woman confederate from Amsterdam to Broad Bay in New England, where they separated. The woman, it was believed, went to Boston, where it was thought probable that she would offer some of the counterfeit ten shilling bills to those who traded in Maryland.[40] In February, 1754, Jeffron was tried and convicted in the mayor's court in Philadelphia on two indictments. He was whipped twice, once for each indictment, stood one hour in the pillory, to which the tip of his right ear was nailed and then cut off. Next he was brought to Annapolis in April and there committed to jail.[41]

As Governor Sharpe, in a letter written to Calvert on May 11, 1754,[42] explained, Maryland could not take cognizance of Jeffron's action, as the crime had been committed outside the province, while in Pennsylvania he could only be punished as a cheat because he was passing the currency of another province. As a result Sharpe requested legislation to remedy the situation, and in 1754 a law was passed in Maryland making it illegal to counterfeit bills of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and the three lower counties of Delaware, or knowingly to pass such false currency. The law was to be in effect for three years.[43] In May, 1758, the act was continued in force for three years and also extended to cover the bills of Virginia, but it expired on April 24, 1762.[44]

During the summer of 1753 quantities of counterfeit British halfpence were made in Birmingham, England. The authorities soon took drastic measures and prevented their being used in England, whereupon large parcels of the false coins were collected and shipped to the colonies in North America. Their circulation caused concern and distress there, especially in New York.[45] Maryland did not escape this plague, for the *Maryland Gazette*

[39] Reprinted in *New-York Mercury*, Dec. 10, 1753.
[40] *The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Jan. 3, 1754.
[41] *Maryland Gazette*, Mar. 28, April 11, 1754.
[42] *Archives*, VI, 65-66.
[43] *Laws of Maryland*, 1754, chap. IV.
[44] *Ibid.*, 1758, chap. III and *Maryland Gazette*, May 18, 1758.
[45] See Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* (New York, 1953), chap. IX.

of February 28, 1754, commented: "There is nothing more easy to be observed, than that great Numbers of Copper Pence, or English Half pence, are crowding in upon us, and many of them Counterfeits, by which some must sooner or later suffer Loss, in Proportion to the Number they possess." It was proposed to accept good English halfpence at fifteen for a shilling, while, as the newspaper stated, "the bad Ones . . . are not worth Three Pence a Dozen, if any Thing at all." In any event, the annoyance was not of long duration and caused, in Maryland at least, no serious repercussions.

In 1755 and for some years thereafter Maryland was plagued by counterfeit twenty shilling bills, warning of which was first given through a notice inserted in the *Maryland Gazette* of August 21, 1755, by Richard Dorsey, clerk of the paper currency office in Annapolis. In the false bills the strokes in the coat of arms were much coarser, the boots on the fisherman much whiter, the shading strokes much more distant from one another, and the letters in general larger and coarser than in the genuine currency. Furthermore in the counterfeits the motto was hardly intelligible, the letter Y in TWENTY at the top was shallower in the opening and longer in the lower part, there was more white in all the letters of the word TWENTY, the asterism after XX.S at the bottom was much larger, and the paper was both thicker and coarser than in authentic bills. The names of the signers were fairly well executed, but MARYLAND at the bottom of the notes was marked on the back instead of being stamped as in all true bills.

About the time that the above caution appeared, Edward James was committed to the Baltimore jail on the charge of counterfeiting the twenty shilling bills and the first week in September, 1754, was tried at the Baltimore assizes but was acquitted. The authorities intended to have him indicted at the next court for having knowingly passed the money,[46] but there is no record of what transpired.

In September, 1755, a man was imprisoned in Frederick County on a charge of having counterfeited the Pennsylvania ten shilling bills of the emission of August 10, 1739. According to the *Maryland Gazette* of September 25, 1755, these counterfeits were so

[46] *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 4, 11, 1754.

wretchedly done that the fraud might be detected with half an eye, for the crest on the coat of arms looked more like an owl than a demi-lion, the two flowers, one on each side of the coat of arms, resembled apple dumplings more than crowns, while the false bills were pasted on the back to conceal the rose leaf, the sage leaf and the words, *To Counterfeit is* DEATH.

The next year a dispatch from Philadelphia, printed in the *Maryland Gazette* of November 18,[47] warned that counterfeit Maryland twenty shilling and five shilling bills had appeared. The utterers of the higher denomination had cut off the names of the signers from a true small bill, with the figures 48, and pasted them carefully to their counterfeit bills upon a thin piece of paper. The five shilling bills, which were struck from a very badly engraved plate, were not pasted like the twenty shilling notes but had the names of the signers all done by one hand.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 21, 1757, described another forgery of the Maryland twenty shilling bills, dated October 1748 and done from a very bad copperplate, while the true bills were most beautifully engraved. In the false notes the S in CRESCITE of the motto appeared to be inverted and the C next to it in the same word was shorter than the other letters.[48]

At about this time or a little later the ten shilling Maryland bills were likewise counterfeited. At the April term of the provincial court held in Annapolis in 1758 Benjamin Stockett of Kent County, a planter, who was charged with passing a false ten shilling note, was released on bail of £200, with two sureties, each in the amount of £100,[49] yet it seems probable that he was never prosecuted. It may be noted that on March 27 of that same year Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland sent to Richard Peters, secretary of Pennsylvania, 662 unsigned and 162 signed ten shilling bills of Pennsylvania, all of them counterfeits.[50]

For a few years there is no record of counterfeiting or passing, but, according to the *Maryland Gazette* of September 8, 1763,[51] on the fifth of that month five men appeared in Annapolis who

[47] Cf. Harrold E. Gillingham, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1939), p. 29.

[48] Reprinted in *Maryland Gazette*, July 28, 1757.

[49] Judgments 43 B. T. 3, 1757-1759, p. 289, Hall of Records.

[50] *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 365.

[51] *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1763, and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1763. See Kenneth Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1953), 13.

"were very flush" with Virginia paper currency, of which they passed some pounds in five pound, forty shilling and twenty shilling bills, all of which were soon discovered to be false and very indifferently executed. One man took the highway towards Baltimore but the other four set out on the road to Frederick. They were overtaken at a house about eighteen miles from Annapolis at about two or three o'clock in the morning and fled precipitously into the woods. Two of the fugitives left behind them their hats and Indian stockings and all four of their horses. In the saddle of one were found some forty counterfeit Virginia forty shilling bills dated 1762.

The *Maryland Gazette* of June 21, 1763, noted the coming into Patuxent of a steerage passenger, Richard or Richardson, from England in the *Munificence*, commanded by Captain Grundill. He had imported a large quantity of New Jersey six and three shilling bills but "this silly blockhead," as the paper called him, almost as soon as he landed was so lavish with his badly executed bills that he was suspected and was confined in the jail of Calvert County.[52] If the passenger was the Joseph Richardson who later became notorious for his counterfeiting activities,[53] he probably escaped prosecution on this occasion.

Some four years later a new gang of counterfeiters headed by William Depriest (or Dupriest) was discovered by the authorities. The *Maryland Gazette* of September 17, 1767, stated that the eight dollar bills had been forged and that the author of the mischief was taken and lodged in the jail of Charles County, while the next week the newspaper reported that counterfeit Maryland three pound bills had also appeared and that, in addition to the prisoner in Charles County, another counterfeiter had been jailed in Frederick and a third in Virginia.

Michael Rogers, the prisoner in Frederick, who was arrested on September 3, wrote the same day to Joseph Wilcox,[54] informing him that he had been apprehended at Sharpsburgh with a quantity of Maryland money which the authorities claimed was counterfeit. There was, he expected, a gentleman named John Arington at the home of Wilcox who could explain how Rogers came by

[52] Reprinted in Weyman's *New-York Gazette*, July 2, 1764 and *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy*, July 5, 1764.
[53] Harrold E. Gillingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44.
[54] *Archives*, XXXII, 215.

the money, some of which was unsigned. Wilcox was asked to induce Arington to go to Rogers or otherwise to come himself and fail not on peril of his life.

Depriest, who was probably taken into custody shortly after Rogers, wrote two letters in jail, one of which he signed with his own name and addressed to his wife, Tabitha Depriest, Pittsylvania County, Virginia. He informed her of the "melancholy news" that he was in irons at Frederick and begged her to come to him as soon as possible with all the money she could collect. He proposed that she go first to his friends on Smith's River, then to Amherst County to his brother, to Colonel William Cabbel and James Nivils and finally to Captain Thomas Davenport in Cumberland County, who would do more for her than all the rest.[55] In his other letter, addressed to John Vulgamot and signed with the alias of "William Williams," he besought his "dear friend" to come to his aid, as he must find security in the amount of two hundred pounds in order to obtain his release from jail.[56]

The letters of both Rogers and Depriest were intercepted, delivered to Governor Sharpe and laid before the council on October 12, 1767.[57] As for Depriest, when no help arrived, he made, in the presence of Thomas Price, a justice of the peace, a confession,[58] in which he set forth that in May, 1767, Joseph Wilcox and John Cox, both of Frederick County, came to his home on Marrowbone Creek, Smith's River, Pittsylvania County, Virginia, to have him counterfeit the Maryland eight dollar bills, of which they brought a sample. Nathaniel Abney procured the printing types and ink from Williamsburg, David Lyles did the printing and Michael Hill Rogers signed the false bills, of which five hundred were struck. Rogers was to deliver the paper money to William Redman and John Ethrington of Loudoun County, Virginia, who were to pass it. Furthermore Depriest alleged that Rogers, Redman and Ethrington proposed that, in case they could not pass the currency, he should join them in robbing on the highway and in plundering houses on the frontier of Virginia and Maryland, a scheme in which he refused to join them.

A copy of Depriest's confession and the letter addressed to John Vulgamot were sent to the Honorable John Ridout by G.

[55] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 215-216.
[56] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 216.
[57] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 215.
[58] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 216.

Scott, probably the sheriff, who in an accompanying note stated that efforts had been made to apprehend the rest of the gang, in consequence of which John Cox had been committed to jail. Since the number of confederates was large, it was feared that they might try to set free their accomplices who were in custody. The note closed with a request for permission to order a guard on the prison at night, "for," he explained, "without orders from his Excellency to that purpose I find the People will not comply." [59] Scott's request was acted upon favorably by the provincial council, and on October 12 a warrant was issued to the sheriff of Frederick County to deliver Depriest and Cox to the sheriff of Anne Arundel County, who was to lodge the prisoners in his jail.[60]

Governor Sharpe on October 30 wrote to Governor Fauquier of Virginia about Depriest's arrest and confession in which Depriest gave "an Account of several Persons in the Western Parts of Virginia that were concerned in the Scheme & who are reported to have counterfeited & passed considerable sums in Virginia." Sharpe enclosed a copy of the confession and of Depriest's letter to his wife, Tabitha, "which will shew what People he is connected with there & perhaps will lead to a Discovery of other Crimes." Sharpe added that Depriest and Cox had been brought to Annapolis but would be remanded in April to Frederick County assizes. He questioned whether there would be sufficient evidence to convict them, however, and asked, "should any discoveries be made in the mean time that subject them to punishment in Virginia you will be pleased to give me timely Notice that an Order might issue for their being delivered up to a Virginia Officer." [61]

A dispatch from Williamsburg, Virginia, dated October 22, which was published in the *Maryland Gazette* of November 19, gave further information about the affair. "Col. Terry," it read, "from Halifax County, informs, that some Time in August last, a Man was taken up, and committed to their Goal, who, upon Examination, confessed himself one of Depriests Gang, and that he, with others, guarded the said Depriest, until he had struck £80,000 Maryland Currency, the Bills mostly of the Dollar Denomination. And some Gentlemen, now in Town, inform, that Depriest himself is now apprehended, and committed to Frederick County Jail in Maryland." Very likely the man taken up in Hali-

[59] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 216-217. [60] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 217-218. [61] *Ibid.*, XIV, 426-427.

fax County was sent to Williamsburg for trial and was the James Golding, from Loudoun, who was committed to the jail in Williamsburg on October 30 "for passing bad money" and received sentence in November.[62]

Depriest apparently took his own life. The *Maryland Gazette* of March 17, 1768, reported his death in jail in Annapolis on Saturday morning, March 12, and added: "'tis supposed he has been, for some Years, an eminent Artist in that Species of Villainy, as 'tis alleged he counterfeited the Paper Currency of *Virginia* and *Carolina*.—It is generally thought he took a Dose of Laudanum, as he slept from the Tuesday preceding his Death, to the Time above-mentioned." Presumably his other accomplices were not prosecuted, for lack of conclusive evidence.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 3, 1768, cautioned the public to beware of the sixth part of a Maryland dollar altered to six dollars. Attempts had been made to pass such altered bills, which, however, were so very poorly made that they might be detected at first sight. The word *One*, the letters *th* in *Sixth* and the words *of a* were erased throughout the bill, while the letter *s* was pasted to the word *Dollar*. On the back of the bill in the words *equal to 9d. Sterling*, there was an unintelligible mark for 27s.[63]

In addition, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 2, 1768, warned the public to beware of counterfeit eight dollar Maryland bills, which in general were fairly well imitated. The counterfeits, however, were not done with printing types, as the true bills were, and the arms and ornaments were not as neatly finished as in the genuine. Further, the false currency was printed on double paper, while the true was on single paper.

Again, on August 31 of the following year, the *Maryland Gazette* reported that some eight dollar bills, supposed to be the work of the late Dupriest, had recently been passed and advised the public to beware, even though the notes were very badly executed. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 3, 1770, added a further warning about counterfeit Maryland eight dollar bills, dated January 1, 1767, which were passing in Philadelphia. They were badly cut on copperplate; neither the arms nor the ornaments were as plain as in the true bills and the letters were very irregular,

[62] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), Nov. 12, 1767.
[63] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 13, 1768.

so that with a little inspection the false ones might be readily detected.

By this time there were many hundreds of counterfeiters at work in the British colonies in America, and the situation was made worse by the transportation of convicts. The *Maryland Gazette* of December 6, 1770, noted the arrival from London of the *Trotman*, commanded by Captain Blickenden, with convicted coiners on board and commented that within a short time after their landing some poorly made counterfeit dollars and a false shilling were passed.

At the April, 1773, term of the provincial court held in Annapolis a certain John Brown was presented "for counterfeiting money," and his case appears on the criminal docket of that court for the September terms in 1773, 1774 and 1775,[64] after which there is no further record of his case. At the same April, 1773, term, John Lampley was presented for keeping a disorderly house, selling liquors and passing a counterfeit bill of six dollars. His case appears on the criminal docket of the September, 1773, term of the court with the annotation "tryed in the County Court." [65]

Early in June, 1773, counterfeit Maryland one dollar bills, done on copperplate and dated March 1, 1770, were circulating in Philadelphia. One caution stated that they were badly cut, that the letters, both on the face and back of the bill, stood very irregular, and that the whole was so badly made that anyone acquainted with printing letters could scarcely be deceived by them.[66] Another description of the bills noted that the borders and letters were "much blacker and broader faced, and the paper whiter, thinner, and smoother than the true ones; . . . and the signers names wrote much stiffer." [67]

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 25, 1773,[68] informed its readers that two men, lately arrived from Ireland, had been arrested at Potts Grove and committed to jail in Philadelphia for attempting to pass counterfeit Maryland eight dollar bills. Eighty of these were found upon them, and a search of their chests on the ship that brought them produced 847 more such notes. The

[64] Judgments 63 D. D. No. 19, 1773-1774, pp. 161, 496; Judgments 63A D. D. No. 20, 1774-1776, pp. 111, 419, Hall of Records.
[65] Judgments 63, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 497.
[66] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1773, and *Maryland Gazette*, June 24, 1773.
[67] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), July 1, 1773.
[68] Reprinted in *Maryland Gazette*, July 8, 1773.

bills were dated March 1, 1770, and their faces were done with printing types but the arms and ornaments from a copperplate. The backs were very badly executed, the paper was thinner, and the words, Anno Domini, in old English print, were larger than in the true currency.

Early in July one of these two men, Kelly, died of fever in the Philadelphia jail, and at the time his comrade was so ill that it was expected that he would escape the gallows in the same manner as Kelly.[69]

Some, at least, of the counterfeit Maryland bills may have come from the press of Samuel Ford, of Hanover in Morris County, New Jersey. He was arrested in July, 1773, but broke out of jail and made his escape in spite of the energetic pursuit which ensued and the rewards for his capture which amounted to £750.[70] On September 3, 1773, a strict search for printing material was made in the swamp where Ford had kept his presses, and a set of plates for printing the currency of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York was found, along with types and other materials for counterfeiting the bills of each province.[71] Ford eventually settled in what is now West Virginia and under the name of Baldwin carried on the trade of silversmith.[72]

Maryland had taken measures to protect its paper money by imposing the death penalty for counterfeiting or for passing counterfeits.[73] It had also provided in 1754 and 1758 to make it a penal offence to counterfeit or to pass forged bills of certain other provinces. Finally, in 1773, the assembly passed an act, to be in effect for five years, providing the death penalty without benefit of clergy for all who should prepare, engrave, stamp, print or cause to be so counterfeited or who should pass forged or altered paper bills of any British colony in America. The preface of the act pointed out that evil persons were thought lately to have established presses in some of the colonies for preparing counterfeits

[69] A Philadelphia dispatch, dated July 14, in *New-York Journal; or the General Advertiser*, July 22, 1773, *Massachusetts Gazette; and the Boston Weekly News-Letter*, July 29, 1773.

[70] See Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, chap. XIV.

[71] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1773.

[72] Andrew M. Sherman, *Historic Morristown, New Jersey* (Morristown, 1905), pp. 136-137, and Joseph F. Tuttle, *The Early History of Morris County, New Jersey* (Newark, 1870), p. 32.

[73] *Laws of Maryland*, 1773 (Annapolis, 1787), chap. XXVI; provisions against counterfeiting in the Act of 1769, chap. XIV, were also adopted in 1773.

of the currency of others, in order that the forged paper might be put into circulation with greater facility and more security to the offenders. It seemed reasonable, therefore, that neighboring provinces, having intercourse in trade, should provide against the debasing of their medium of commerce.[74]

In Philadelphia in March, 1774, the public were cautioned that false Maryland dollar bills were passing. They were dated March 1, 1770, badly cut on copperplate, and printed on a paper which was much smoother and thinner than that used for the genuine bills.[75] In January of the next year counterfeit Maryland eight dollar bills, dated April 10, 1774, were also circulating in that city. They appeared blacker than the true notes and were said to be so badly done that they might be easily detected.[76]

Shortly before the outbreak of the Revolution a plan to forge one of the Maryland bills was afoot abroad. The *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) of June 1, 1775, printed the copy of a letter signed Britannophilus sent from Germany to John Wilkes, Lord Mayor of London. The mayor had given the copy of it to Arthur Lee, who, apparently, on March 22, 1775, sent it off from London to America. It read in part:

> I live in a great city in Germany. Some weeks ago a printer came to me, and shewed two bank notes [i. e. bills of credit] (not knowing the language, nor the contents) which two foreigners brought to him, to re-print them exactly: I found the one to be a bank note of *Annapolis*, in Maryland, and the other of *Pennsylvania*, of 50 and of 5 shillings, both of 1774. I was surprised, and told the printer he should not at all meddle with the rascals who brought these papers. Afterwards I heard that they have been at two engravers, to get two others counterfeited, and they refused likewise. But as I do not doubt they will find out, in another town, some ignorant or hungry engraver, or printer, I beg your lordship to communicate these contents of my letter to the public, in the *London Chronicle*, to prevent any mischief and imposition on the honest Americans, vexed not only by taxes, but also by bad bank notes. It will give me great pleasure to read in this paper my notice, to frustrate the designs of these impostors.

The immediate threat, however, to the paper currency was to come not from German engravers and printers but rather from the British government itself, for on or before January 6, 1776, a

[74] *Ibid.*, 1773, chap. V.
[75] *Maryland Gazette*, Mar. 24, 1774. The dispatch from Philadelphia is dated Mar. 14.
[76] *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1775. The Philadelphia dispatch bears the date of Jan. 9.

printing press on board H.M.S. *Phoenix* in New York harbor was turning out counterfeit bills of the Continental Congress and in April, 1777, a notice appeared in a newspaper in New York that counterfeits could be purchased for the price of the paper. The notes of both congress and the individual states were forged by ordinary criminals and at the same time by the British, who found in the tories ready passers. Unquestionably, counterfeiting contributed in no small degree to the tremendous depreciation of the American currency, which fell so greatly that George Washington wrote to John Jay that " a wagon-load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions."

A CHILDHOOD AT CLYNMALIRA

By Harriet Winchester Jones

The recollections of which Mrs. J. Sparhawk Jones (Harriet Sterett Winchester) writes in her "Memoir" reach back to a vanished age and form an important social document as well as a sprightly and charming narrative. In the series of articles devoted to Maryland houses in this magazine the "Memoir" helps to round out the picture of life on a great plantation. We are indebted to her daughter, Mrs. Bayard Turnbull, one of the descendants for whom the "Memoir" was written, for making it available, and also for the introduction which follows. A few passages have been omitted, and a few minor corrections made, but the original manuscript has been closely followed in all other respects.

Editor

* * *

The tract of land on which Clynmalira house stands once consisted of five thousand acres, surveyed in 1705 for Charles Carroll, attorney general of the Province of Maryland. The house was built in 1822 by Henry Carroll, great-great-grandson of Charles, who was then living a few miles distant at Sweet Air and must have decided that he needed more space for his growing family. He chose as its location, perhaps because of a great and never failing spring and well-watered fields, a high ridge looking in all directions across a rolling landscape to distant hills, and this became the center of his family's life till 1892. Two generations of children, to the second of which my mother belonged, grew up there and never ceased to think and speak of it as home. It stands on the east side of what is now called Carroll Road, near Phoenix, Baltimore County, and was built of cream colored brick burnt on the place and timbers sawed from the surrounding woods. It was gracefully proportioned, with a lovely recessed entrance porch facing north and terraces sloping to fields and pastures on the south. Slave quarters, barns, and outbuildings lay farther to the east. My mother wrote once, "It was not only the house, but all that it overlooked that was loved—the distant sky line toward

the south, the hills coming around toward the north, the way the shadows fell across the lawn at moonlight, the large sense of home, boundless home, *our earth.*"

Since passing out of the hands of the Carrolls in 1892, it has had a long succession of owners and has suffered many alterations inside and out—among the principal ones, a frame addition which destroyed its original symmetry and a large, open, tiled porch. It is now painted white, and only vestiges of the old trees, the old terraces, the old roads, and the Clynmalira that once was, remain.

MARGARET CARROLL TURNBULL

MEMOIR

The mind sits miser in its shell
And hoards its stuffs of little worth:
The innocent dream in upward flight
That time has hawked; the unclaimed love
That never spent its warmth and light,
Far better trodden in wet earth
Than kept for treasure; and grief for what
The knuckled hand can never wrench
From yesterday. What meagre store
The mind selects to hide away
As rarity from all the rich
Year's gifts! Here is not sustenance
Enough for moth or mouse: no more
Than what the heart could never own,
Than what the hand could never stay.[1]

ROBERT LIDDELL LOWE.

I have wished a hundred times that my great-grandmother, Sarah Rogers Carroll of Sweet Air [2] and Clynmalira [3] (she was of

[1] "The Mind Sits Miser, *The Yale Review*, n. s. XXIV (March, 1935), 576. Also reprinted in *Literary Digest* (April 20, 1935), p. 35. Copyrighted by *The Yale Review*, Yale University Press. Quoted with permission.

[2] See Ronald T. Abercrombie, "'Sweet Air' or 'Quinn,' Baltimore County," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXXVIII (1943), 19-36.

[3] The following is the copy of a letter by Frederick John O'Carroll, A. B., author of "Stemmata Carrollana," in reply to an inquiry as to whether he could throw any light on the origin of the name "Clynmalira." It was dated Foxboro, Bray Co. Wicklow, Ireland, Dec. 29, 1904:

"I am of the opinion that I can with some confidence give you the origin of the name. I think it is a commemorative translation of Clanmalier, the territory in former times of the O'Dempsys, and over which doubtless in some period the O'Carrolls held sway. I am confirmed in this opinion by the fact that Clanmalier

the same family as the Rogers of Druid Hill [4]—1770-1833) had written the story of her life, her memories of other times and the traditions that had been handed on to her, for our interest and information. Many facts have become too dim now to be discernible. Much private history has been lost just from lack of recorded yesterdays.

I have had from my early childhood a great curiosity concerning our past, how life was conducted inside the family border a hundred, a hundred and fifty, two hundred years ago, and how things came to be as they were. I have even wanted to know how rooms were furnished in Sweet Air House, from whence possessions were gathered, and their history. For things have a way of out-lasting us and, if they could speak, would have tales to tell. That is the reason why they seem half human and why we grow to have a tender feeling for them.

Some day I may become a great-grandmother, and for that reason I am going to set down a few facts my great-grandchildren may care to know, sketch in a few portraits, draw a few pictures of the little world that was mine once upon a time. If I use the personal pronoun often, I hope they will forgive the seeming egotism, and think of me only as a watch tower with loopholes, from which a country side is viewed, and that has to be referred to.

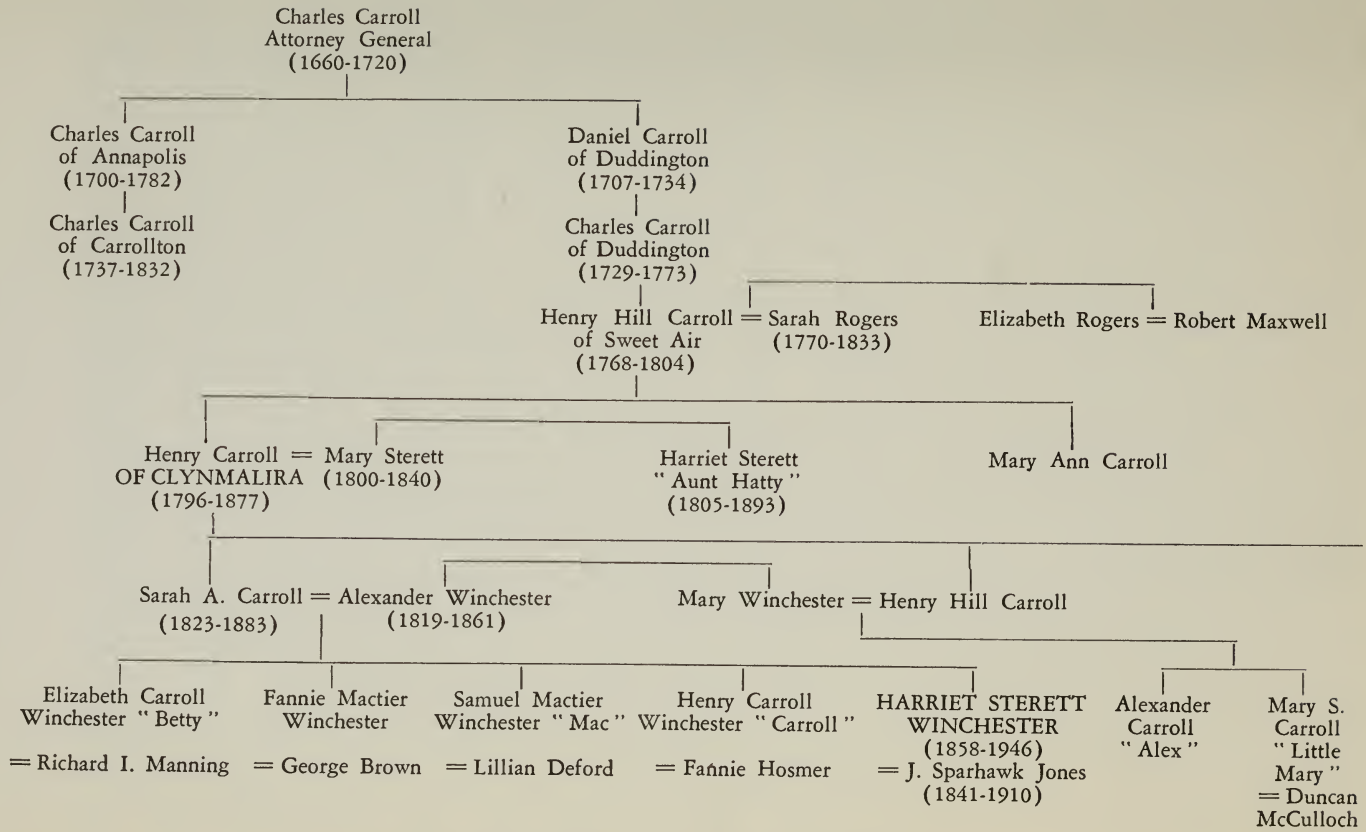
My great-grandmother Carroll died twenty-five years before I was born, but her name and personality were rooted in the land about me and beyond where I could look. She was therefore more of a real person to me than my great-grandmother Winchester, who had lived her life at " Purlevant " on far away Kent Island down the Chesapeake, and concerning whom I had no story and no living link, my grandfather Winchester having died in 1854 and my father when I was only two and a half years old. But on Clynmalira lands Sarah Carroll had been driven when a young widow by her negro coachman in scarlet livery, overseeing the estate she held in trust for her two children, Mary (born 1793) and Henry (born 1796). Those unchanging hills she had known,

immediately adjoins Dy Regan which was the habitat of the O'Dunnes, and after which the estate of Doughoregan belonging to the Carrollton family was called. Both these territories adjoin that part of Ely O'Carrol in which the family of Litterluna was settled."

[4] See Edith Rossiter Bevan, " Druid Hill, Country Seat of the Rogers and Buchanan Families," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (1949), 190-199.

and they were "the hills of home" for my double first cousin, Mary Sterett Carroll, for my brother Carroll Winchester, and for me. We loved them with intensity. We knew the banks of every stream that flowed between them, and every great chestnut tree on their tops—trees that have now disappeared from field and fence row in the Atlantic States, noble trees, generous trees that gave glad hours to hundreds of American children for generations.

But now I will turn back and begin at my beginning. I was born in Baltimore on Mount Vernon Place, second door from the corner of Cathedral Street, north side, December 18th, 1858, the only child of my parents born there, the other four having come when they were living on St. Paul Street. To this hour I hold in mind every room and passage in that house from the attic to the kitchen. I remember how the rooms were furnished. I remember the yard, and what grew in it, the one big tree at the far end where I thought the baby was rocked that I was sung to about. There was a shrub out there that had a yellow bloom growing close to the stem. It was called a Dutch rose, though I know now it had no relation to a rose. I mention it because it was the first flower I can recall. It was a poor thing, however, and I was not attached to it. Indeed, to be perfectly truthful, I was not attached to any portion of that house inside or out. I felt cribbed and confined by it though it was so ample in its proportions; I felt lonely and apart in it. It was owned by my grandfather Carroll, but my parents lived in it and my father furnished it. He was thought to have beautiful taste, and though the 1850's may not have been the best period for expressing it, I remember the lines of our rosewood as more simple and graceful, its ornament more controlled, than any I have seen since. Even the large mantel mirrors were free from elaborate decoration. In the two drawing rooms the carpets were of soft velvet with large bunches of roses for pattern, and the oil paintings, though copies, gave warmth to the high walls. It was the gas jet era, with gilded chandeliers and sealed fireplaces. The library was at the top of the first flight of steps. In there it amused me to look at old copies of the *Illustrated London News* with pictures of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort when they were driving around Paris with Napoleon III and his Empress. Also a book



Some Family Relationships of Mrs. J. Sparhawk Jones

of engravings, *The Castles and Abbeys of England*, fascinated me and probably was responsible for my early love of mediaeval history. I have it still, that book.

The dining room was back of the parlors. The furniture there was of walnut, and there was much silver on the buffet. But I think our most splendid possession was a double dinner service of enameled blue and gold from China that my grandfather Winchester had imported years before. I have heard he liked to say, "When my wife (Frances Mactier) entered my home as its mistress, she found everything in order to receive her even to pins in the pin cushion." Certainly she must have been pleased with that dinner service and the Winchester silver. I will say here that my brother Carroll inherited the china, and that it is now scattered; that my Aunt Mary Winchester Carroll inherited the silver (tea service), and that it is still intact in her line, but that all the furniture in my first home perished in two fires later. Much of it was in storage at the time of the great Baltimore fire and went then. My brother owned it.

But what was the human side of the first home I can remember? There was my small, perfectly formed and lovely mother, with the lovely line to her nose, and dark gray-blue eyes. She was the first born of nine children that came in quick succession at Clynmalira and when she grew up had the choice of many suitors, but I never heard her say she had been in love but with one, Alexander Winchester, tall, with straight features, a sense of humor, and a lover of music, adored by his sisters and trusted eventually by his father-in-law whose advisor he became. . . .

My mother's wedding, April 15th, 1845, was something of a fairy tale as told to me in my childhood. The festivities lasted a week, and the time was full of merrymaking and colour. Every room at Clynmalira was packed. Beds were even set up in the carriage house loft, and guests from the city came and went. Baltimore's chief confectioner, Lemar, came out and served up dainty dishes, drives were taken over the rough roads, and fiddlers fiddled. Even nature took part in the gayeties, for on the 15th of April that year shrubs came into bloom three weeks in advance of time.

My earliest memory of my mother was when she was in mourning for my father. He died in that fateful April, 1861. I have

one memory of him, no more. He was lying on his bed, and I was in my nurse's arms in front of the mantel opposite. It may be that he was dead. Mourning was deep and long then, and as a very little child I was conscious of sadness near me. I must have felt it in my mother, for there was plenty of young life about—turbulent young life in my brothers Mac and Carroll. They were older than I, one by eight years, the other by three. Each had a dozen companions around as many corners to keep him company. My sisters, Betty and Fanny Winchester, were older still than my brothers. They were my seniors by thirteen and eleven years and were just grown in 1864, at least Betty was. They were very beautiful girls and naturally filled the foreground. I have pictures in my mind of voluminous tarlatans, flowing organdies, bright ribbons, round bouquets of camellias and rosebuds framed in by circles of paper lace, and of Baltimore beaux and belles of the period, with the occasional appearance of some young man attached to a legation in Washington. Kirkpatric was one of them—homely, I have been told, but exceedingly well connected. He fell madly in love with Betty and urged her again and again to become his wife. "I would like you to meet our Queen," he said, "that she may see what beautiful women grow in America." To the very last hour before he sailed for his next post, Spain, he tried to win her. But she saw the union as impossible. There was already about her more of spirit than substance, and she was not in love.

There was much talk of dinners and Germans in our house in 1864-5. I watched my sisters dressing before mirrors that reflected them from waterfalls to slippers, and it was about this time that a children's ball was given by Mrs. White, our next door neighbor, who was a sister of Charles Ridgely of Hampton. Her eldest son, Henry White, went into our diplomatic service; her son by her second marriage to Thomas Buckler, Willie Buckler, is still living, and he and his English wife are great favorites when they visit Baltimore. They make their home in England.[5] I was

[5] Dr. Thomas H. Buckler (1812-1901) married Mrs. Eliza Ridgely White (1828-1894), widow of John Campbell White and daughter of John Ridgely of Hampton, in 1865. Henry White (1850-1927) was the secretary to the American Legation at London for many years, was Ambassador to Italy and France and held many other important positions. See Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (1930). Willie Buckler, Dr. William Hepburn Buckler

invited to that children's ball, but firmly declined to go. Why? I do not know. I looked with delight, however, upon my sister Fanny, sixteen, when she was dressed in scarlet and white to attend it. Carroll, a handsome little dog, went as a Scotch Highlander. I have a picture of him in that costume still. If I did not go to the party I enjoyed having a hand in the creation of pretty things. In the nursery, turned into a sewing room, I threaded needles—dozens and dozens of needles that stitched fluffy skirts, all puffs and flounces that girls wore then. Hundreds of pins got scattered about the floor, and Carroll and I would crawl around on our hands and knees and gather them into little bundles to send out to Mammy Rose at Clynmalira. They were lawful gleanings and an expression of our affection and respect for that old negress. Clynmalira must have been well set in our minds by that time as a paradise occasionally obtainable. We spent our summers there. Knowing those ample spaces made Mount Vernon Square and our own back yard seem limited.

There were four servants in our house: my nurse Ann Collins; Margaret Joseph, superior, Scotch-Irish and Presbyterian; Robert Dennis, our negro waiter, ever faithful and greatly trusted, but of whom we children stood a little in awe; and old Eve Clark, our cook, who once gave me two little china vases about four inches high that then sold for a penny each, but now are collected. It was to the latter in the Spring of 1864 that I confided a great fact. "Eve," I said, "I am going to the country on the three o'clock train." I walked up and down the kitchen repeating, "I am going to the country with Aunt Hatty on the three o'clock train!" I walked up and down singing it. The words stood for liberation and adventure. Gone would be the city streets. No more would the heads of Juno and vine-crowned Ariadne, standing sentinel in the hall, frighten the wits out of me when I ran past them on an errand. Their sightless cold marble eyes were for me the eyes of death.

What of farewells, what of my arrival at my grandfather Carroll's door? I do not recall. I next find myself under a snowball

(1867-1952), professor at the Johns Hopkins and Oxford Universities, was a world recognized archaeologist and historian. His wife, Mrs. Georgina Walrond Buckler, was a noted scholar in her own right and was decorated by King George V as a commander of the Order of the British Empire for her services in World War I. She died in 1953.

Harriet Winchester Jones
Photograph taken about 1912

Fannie Mactier Winchester Brown
(Mrs. George Brown)
Sister of Harriet Winchester Jones

HARRIET WINCHESTER JONES
as a child

SARAH CARROLL WINCHESTER
Mother of Harriet Winchester Jones

REAR VIEW OF CLYNMALIRA HOUSE

With additions made after 1892.

BARNS AT CLYNMALIRA

Photographs by Frances B. Johnston
Courtesy of Library of Congress

tree on the first garden terrace with colored Rose, Mammy Rose's granddaughter, a clever and amusing little mulatto, and my senior by a few years. Then I am in the outer attic sitting in a great basket of many colored wools, and then and there one delight succeeds another, and blends and fades, and new forms come to light. I am established, I am at home in my henceforth beloved Clynmalira, with its broad lands, meadows, hills, roads and streams; with its wheat barn and hay barns, its cow stable, horse stable, mule stable and steer stable, piggery, smoke house and dairy, carriage house and icehouse, each with its distinct odor. Especially has the carriage house loft its own peculiar smell, for there hung herbs and okra, and red peppers and other pods with seeds drying in them, and there stood a huge spinning wheel, once kept whirling by Mammy Tan. But that was before my day. I do, however, have memories of flails, and cradles swung in unison in wheat fields.

I do not think my mother had any idea when I left the city that spring afternoon in 1864 that she was sending me to the country for more than the summer. I had been sick, and Dr. Buckler advised the change. As it turned out, I spent twelve radiant years there.

I found in my adopted home, beside my great Aunt Harriet Sterett in whose care I was, and for whom I was named (she was grandmother Carroll's younger sister), my grandfather, Henry Carroll, my uncle, Henry Hill Carroll, and Aunt Mary, his wife, my father's sister. At that time they had but one child, " Little Mary " of the golden locks, my double first cousin, who became my sister-friend. It could not have been otherwise; we grew up side by side, and only two and a half years divided us in time. Today we are rich in the same memories—what have been called " rare and delightful melancholies."

Clynmalira, only twenty miles out from town, and two and a half miles from the station, was, owing to the slowness of the trains and the roughness of the roads, double that distance then; so, going to town was an event and not frequently undertaken. When Aunt Hatty and I did go in, it was to see my mother, and members of the family, and to shop. What funny little shops they were! Simon's on Howard Street, Miss Martha Cowman's on Lexington Street and Mrs. Broadbent's on Charles. Old

customers were old friends. The early rising made the start for town exciting. In winter, when dressed, I would stand at the east window in Aunt Hatty's room and watch for the rising of the sun, watch too, on the far horizon, the Conestoga wagons creep along the Old York Road. Where did they come from? Whither were they bound?

Events were moving in my city home in 1866. My sisters were about to marry—Betty, to Major Richard Irving Manning of South Carolina, oldest son, by his first marriage, of old Governor Manning of that State. Dark and handsome, he had all the glamour about him of the Lost Cause. He had been on General Joe Johnson's staff during the war. Fanny's wedding came first by three days. She married George Brown of "Brooklandwood" in the Green Spring Valley. The bride was eighteen and the groom twenty-one. A dark bride, the sugar bride on her wedding cake was dark. It was all a magic scene for a child of eight. Mrs. Alexander Brown, my sister's mother-in-law, gowned in blue satin with flounces of point lace, the pretty bridesmaids, the groomsmen, the feast below stairs (my mother had moved now from the square, across to Cathedral Street) and our supremely beautiful Betty as she looked that day. I can remember her dress, a white organdie, bordered with puffs run through with blue ribbon, a long lace cape lined with blue, and dull-gold beads wound round her gold-brown hair. Years later there were those who would speak of her beauty then as they would of some great event of other days. Thirteen months later, the day before her twenty-second birthday, she lay dead, and camellias, those white waxen flowers that had gone with her to so many balls, rested under her still white hands. Dick Manning continued to make his home with my mother for the succeeding eleven years. I loved him as a brother, and he was one of us.

It was at this time, the Autumn of '67, some two months before Betty's death, that I began to hear my elders speak of a young man, just out of Princeton Seminary, who had come to be assistant to Dr. Backus[6] at the First Presbyterian Church, my mother's church. His name was John Sparhawk Jones, and his preaching was taking the town by storm; a new manner, a new voice, and

[6] Rev. John C. Backus (1811-1884) was appointed Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in 1836.

though his sermons were scholarly, they were at the same time lighted by flashes of humor. It was said that he was shy, and not very easy to approach. My mother never met him, and at the end of three winters he was called to the new church on Park Avenue that old Mrs. George Brown had built as a memorial to her husband. The Church was spoken of as " way out Park Ave." " Way out " meant about a mile from Franklin Street. We all drove there the day the Church was dedicated in 1870, and at the same time John Sparhawk Jones was ordained to the full ministry. I remember his thick, rather tumbled, wavy auburn hair, dark eyes, set with a slight suggestion of a tilt downwards, and the remarkable mobility of his countenance. His vigorous manner and rapid utterance were in marked contrast to Dr. Backus's pulpit manner that one of his parishioners described as " so confidential." But Dr. Backus was beautiful! Indeed, he would have probably been picked out of any gathering and named as the most remarkable man present. He was a highbred gentleman, strong in Presbytery, a church builder, admired and loved by his people, and he had the respect of the town. Men at the Maryland Club used to say they felt like rising and lifting their hats when Dr. Backus passed down the street. His ministry lasted forty years. He married my parents, he baptized all of their children, and he buried all our dead for that long period. That he had not the art of preaching brought no criticism upon him. In other days people went to church with the same regularity that they ate their meals. It mattered not how uninspired the discourses were, provided they unfolded " the plan of Salvation " in familiar phraseology. It had been said by some at the First Church that Dr. Backus's young assistant was not spiritual. They were startled and made suspicious by the absence in his sermons of the old stilted forms of expression that had grown as conventionalized as Egyptian art. It was even whispered about that he was not orthodox. To be interesting and orthodox at the same time was like a contradiction in terms.

But how did it happen that we went to the Presbyterian Church when the Carrolls were a Catholic family and the Winchesters Episcopalians, members of old St. Paul's? It was all because of a quick decision made by my grandmother Mary. Life turns on just such hinges. Marriages and births for generations are affected

by them. The Steretts were Scotch-Irish and Presbyterian. Grandpa Carroll was educated at St. Mary's College under the Jesuits, and his mother was fervently Catholic. My grandmother had made no confession of faith at the time of her marriage. Then came the day when my mother, their eldest child, was to be baptized, and it was to be a Catholic baptism, and her name was to be Sarah. It was at this moment that the young mother made up her mind to remain Protestant. Grandpa said the mother was the one to bring up the children and he never interfered in what he considered her province. Then, I think he was naturally agnostic and did not care very much.

My mother once told me a rather pretty story. It was the first Sunday after her marriage, and she and my father, closing the door of their new home behind them, started to church. At a certain place on the way my father said, "Of course you are coming to St. Paul's with me." "No," answered the little bride very firmly, "I am going to my own church." So they parted. But at the next corner she was joined by her young husband, and the question of which church never came up again.

But I was living and growing up in the country where we all went to Old St. James's on My Lady's Manor.

Before my sisters married, we, as a family, were much involved emotionally in the War between the States. What an ardent little Confederate I was at six! Northern soldiers came and carried away the horses and cattle at Clynmalira. Harry Gilmor for the South came on a raid and got as near as Cockeysville.[7] There was a day when I seem to see a number of us under the fringe tree on the south lawn, kneeling, with our ears close to the ground that we might catch the thunder of the cannon at Gettysburg. Northern soldiers were picketed on the road outside our gate. Then came the fall of Richmond, and after that the death of Lincoln. As bitter as the feeling was with us then, I heard my mother say, "This is the most unfortunate thing that could have happened for the South." I was in town when Richmond fell, and I sat on Margaret Joseph's lap at a third-story window of the Mount Vernon Place house and watched the flickering lights that were the illumination.

[7] See "Gilmor's Field Report on His Raid in Baltimore County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 234-240.

It was in 1863 that the negroes were freed. I can see now Rose Johnson tripping down the west staircase at Clynmalira and calling back, " I am free, I am free." I shook hands with her sister Lottie on the long path beyond the arbor vitae hedge. " Good-bye," we cried cheerfully. We never met again, but Rose later became my sister Fanny's personal maid, so she was never lost sight of. Old John, a valuable servant in the house, died, I think, just before the others left, and Mammy Rose went before he did. I have two memories of John: one, with a salt glazed pitcher on his head bringing drinking water up to the house from the dairy spring (grandpa fancied it); the other, a final one, was when he came into the drawing room after some entertainment and asked permission to go home. His wife, Matilda, was a free woman and lived two or three miles away on the pike. As I recall them I have very warm feelings toward these negroes. Mary and I are the only ones living today that can name them. Sometimes, in recent years, when I myself have polished the round Carroll waiter, I have thought of the many faithful black hands that had done that very thing in the long ago.

Both John and Mammy Rose must have belonged to the Sweet Air staff of servants. As the old negroes died off, grandpa did not replace them. A number lived to hear of the Emancipation Proclamation. There was a certain spot in a field, marked by a single tree and perhaps a quarter of a mile from the house, that was the burying ground of the colored folk. It has now long since been ploughed over, but was preserved untouched through grandpa's life, and I think during Uncle Henry's ownership of the place.

One of the questions I might have asked grandpa Carroll in the summer of 1876, and didn't, was, " Did your father, Sir, build Sweet Air House, or did he buy it, and how did it happen that he did either? " For Sweet Air was way to one side of the Clynmalira tract, just touching it on the east, and when it was owned by Thomas Macnamarra [Macnemara] was called " Quinn." There was some connection between the Carrolls and the Macnamarras, or had been in the past, which may have had something to do with Henry Hill Carroll's decision to settle there. Then Long Green Valley was not far away, where he must have had friends. Clynmalira was an original grant to the first Charles Carroll, who

arrived in the Province of Maryland in 1688 as its Attorney General. It contained 5000 acres. " Litterluna," a smaller tract near the Green Spring Valley, was also an original grant. These lands were left by the first Charles Carroll to his younger son Daniel, sometimes known as Daniel Carroll of Ely O'Carroll (part of Ely O'Carroll later became the site of Baltimore City) and passed through the hands of his son, Charles Carroll of Duddington Manor, to my great-grandfather Henry Hill Carroll of Sweet Air. I might mention here that Duddington came into the Carroll family through the marriage of Daniel of Ely O'Carroll with the heiress Ann Rozier, whose father, Notley Rozier of Notley Hall, Prince George's County, was left it by his godfather, old Governor Thomas Notley. A certain hill on this land was leased to a man by the name of Jenkins. Jenkins Hill it grew to be called.[8] On it the Capitol of Washington now stands, and it has become, perhaps, the most noted hill in the world after the hill of Zion and the seven hills of Rome.

As the law of primogeniture still held in Maryland, the bulk of the estate of Charles the Attorney General went to his eldest son, Charles of Annapolis. He was the inheritor of Doughoregan Manor, 10,000 acres, the future home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. It is still owned by that branch of the family. The marriage of John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland in the seventies, to a daughter of Royal Phelps of New York, saved it, for very large estates ceased to be an asset in Maryland after the Civil War.

My great-great-grandfather, Charles of Duddington, divided his estate rather evenly I think between his three sons. The eldest, Daniel, became Daniel of Duddington; the second, Charles, was known as Charles of Bellevue, and he had a handsome house for a time by that name in Georgetown, D. C. Later he moved to the Genesee Valley, New York, along with the Fitzhughs and Rochesters. Henry built, or bought, in Baltimore County, as I have said, having inherited the Clynmalira hills and woods. (It

[8] L'Enfant in a report on the plans for the Capitol in June 22, 1791, wrote: " After much menutial search for an elligible situation, . . . I could discover no one so advantageously to greet the congressional building as is that on the west of Jenkins heights which stands as a pedestal waiting for a monument. . . ." H. Paul Caemmerer, *The Life of Pierre Charles L'Enfant* (Wash., D. C., 1950), p. 152.

seems he got Sweet Air as a payment of a debt owned by Macnamarra.)

If I could select a date today for entering Sweet Air House out of all the years of its life, I would choose the year 1800. That was four years before my great-grandfather's death. He and his Sally were still young, with a little daughter and son in their nursery, and with all their lovely possessions about them. That home held treasures. I have known some of them, and have either seen, or had described to me, others that went down Aunt Carroll's line. Some, of course, were lost in the years. The silver, following the southern tradition, was imported from England and bears the hallmark 1798. There was a great deal of it. I know of three sets of salt cellars. I have one of them. I have wondered why so many. Then there were the beautiful old Rogers pieces dated 1742. The china that came from there that I have known was really lovely, an old Spode set of gold-and-white bordered with stars, probably in honor of our flag, and Lowestoft dinner plates of pale eggshell blue with enameled tulips for decoration. I own six. I know today where many of the Sweet Air furnishings are, but things get divided and subdivided with each generation, till just one remains here and there to say " once we were seven or seventy." I sometimes think they must be lonely; and as for things in museums! Museums have to be, but they are places of the dead. A beautiful object in a glass case is different from one in use by a fireside, or on a table, handled lovingly, a part of the family life.

I saw Sweet Air first when I was nineteen. One Spring afternoon in 1879, Uncle Henry, Aunt Mary, Mary, Jr. and I drove over there from Clynmalira. The interior was then little changed from what it had been. I saw it, and loved it. One entered a hall of fair size. The large and well proportioned drawing room was on the right, an equally large dining room on the left. Each had four windows, opening north and south, and high mantels of good design, only in the drawing room the mantel was flanked by arches. The sweep of the staircase I still thought excellent when I last saw it only a year or two ago, but the dear little kitchen wing, so quaint, had been pulled down by the present owners of the house.[9] The patterned brick work on the outer west wall

[9] Sweet Air was later restored by Bayard Turnbull, son-in-law of Mrs. Sparhawk

was still there, however, and two noble old box bushes marked the spot where the lawn once fell away into terraces. When I saw Sweet Air in 1879, traces of the terraces still remained, and jonquils were in bloom that great-grandmother Sarah had probably planted. The handle on the drawing room door was a garland in brass and I thought of it as having been turned by baby hands, eighty years before—hands that had grown old when I remembered them. Sweet Air was never a house in the grand style, like great-great-uncle Daniel's " Dudington " in Washington, but it was a darling, lovable, homey place, and when it was surrounded by its own pasture lands and woods, it own lawn and garden, its lack of view was probably not so much missed. . . .

Grandpa was only eight when his father died, so he could have had few memories concerning him, but he was brought up with traditions, and I could have gone to him with questions that summer of '76. I could have and didn't; yet I was conscious he was taking me more seriously now that I was seventeen. He never suffered children's chatter gladly, and probably some of the shyness of childhood held me back. I am sorry that it did, sorry that I missed this last opportunity of growing closer, if only for a few brief hours, to the man who, though perhaps unknowingly, had given me a happy childhood. He was not easy of approach, but Aunt Louisa knew no fear of him, and she was his favorite daughter-in-law. Grandpa was only forty-four when his deeply loved wife died. There were six young Carrolls about; there had been nine. My mother was seventeen, Uncle Willie two and a half years. He naturally turned to his children's unmarried aunt for help. So it happened that Aunt Hatty sat at the head of his table for the remainder of his life.

If I did not ask grandpa questions, I put many to Aunt Hatty and my mother from the time I was very young. I had a great curiosity about the past, which I do not notice at all in the children of this generation, or the one behind it, now in middle life. I liked to hear what they had to tell of my two little uncles that died young, Robert Henry and Rogers. I saw them always as children and playmates. Then there was my mother's younger sister, Aunt Betty, who died when she was only eighteen " from

Jones, for Dr. and Mrs. Ronald Abercrombie, members of whose family now occupy it. See Abercrombie, *op. cit.*

having eaten green gooseberries." Of course I know now this gay spirited girl died of appendicitis. Her death came suddenly, shortly after my mother's marriage in '45. My sister Betty was named for her, and she in turn had been named for her Aunt Elizabeth Rogers Maxwell (Mrs. Robert Maxwell) my grandfather's honored aunt. She left him her chief heir, and I have now two lovely pieces of silver that were hers, an urn, and a tray. I did not inherit them; they came to me as gifts. It was Aunt Maxwell who caused to be laid out the terraced garden at Clynmalira. I liked to hear about her, for I loved " the garden hills." Then there were my mother's school days at Cedar Park, Miss Margaret Mercer's place down on West River. In that park there were deer. Think of having lived where there were deer! It was explained to me what a remarkable woman Miss Mercer was.[10] She taught school because she did not approve of slavery. She freed her slaves and sent them out to Liberia. After that, she had to work for her living. That was a grand gesture, and grandmother Carroll, who probably did not approve of slavery either—her father certainly did not, but then he never inherited any negroes—greatly admired Miss Mercer, and, as an expression of her admiration, sent my poor little mother at the age of eight to be under her instruction. I think the living was austere, and I have always believed the foundation of my mother's delicacy was laid during the four years she spent at Cedar Park. She came away finally, ill. . . .

What would have been the family life and connections of our Carrolls and our Winchesters had grandmother Mary Sterett Carroll accepted the faith of the family she married into? I often wonder. As it was, we were all intensely Protestant. Aunt Hatty had her face firmly set that way, and Aunt Mary Winchester Carroll, though an Episcopalian, was just as Protestant. There was strict observance of the Sabbath at Clynmalira all through Mary's childhood and mine. I saw the useful sewing basket become a forbidden thing on Sunday. It was put out of sight, and only a very few books were considered to have the proper religious tone for reading on that day. No games were permitted,

[10] Miss Margaret Mercer (1791-1846). See Caspar Morris, *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer* (Philadelphia, 1848) for a contemporary appreciation of this outstanding woman.

and I remember an awful moment when Carroll and colored Rose got a spanking from Aunt Hatty for jumping in the hay barrack on Sunday. That was before the War between the States ended. We were read to out of *Line upon Line* and *Precept upon Precept*, simplified versions of Old Testament Stories, and while Mary was learning the vows taken for her in baptism in one room, I was learning of Justification, Sanctification and Adoption in another. I was perfectly aware that Mary had the easier task, but bore up under my heavier one, aided by a certain pride in my difficulties and the long words I was learning. As a special treat, Aunt Hatty would read to me in the afternoon *The Wide Wide World* by Miss Warner, Miss Sewell's *Lanton Parsonage, Amy Herbert* and The *Schönberg-Cotta Family* with Martin Luther for hero.

The old Puritan and Evangelical Sabbath is much mocked at and derided today, but I, for one, have no resentful feelings toward it. It was a discipline, and of moral worth just for that reason; and I think it had some religious value; it taught us to look up.

Sunday morning, weather permitting, we drove to St. James's on My Lady's Manor, three miles distant, for service—Aunt Mary, Aunt Hatty, "Little Mary," her brother Alex and I. The coach came up to the door with a magnificent swing around the circle, Pat Butler in the high driver's seat, and away we went, we children stiff with starch, my aunts in camel's hair shawls with bonnets tied under their chins. We liked going to the Manor Church. But then who didn't go to church? Every one in the world we knew went to church except grandpa. Grandpa was apart. He was overlord of our world, a power to be respected, but not too literally obeyed. This avoidance of commands gave us children all the excitement we needed. We were strictly forbidden to go to the stables and barns. I see now the old gentleman was probably right in not wanting us around down there with the animals and hands, but as a matter of fact, we never got the least harm from these contacts. On the rare occasions when grandpa did discover us, and ordered us back to the house, we were properly scared, but never permanently deterred from another venture. Henry Carroll was not a large man, about medium height, and well formed, a nose slightly aquiline—which seems to have been a

Carroll feature—and blue eyes with a flash in them that neither man nor child lightly provoked. His feet and hands were perfectly formed. Not the hands of toil; he ordered. I see perfectly those hands, with brown patches under the skin and narrow nails.

In looking back, it seems to me that just as currant jelly was made on the hottest day in the summer, so pigs were killed on the coldest day in the winter. No one at the house had anything to do with the murders, but we children found the time exciting. Aunt Hatty mixed the seasoning for the sausage at dawn on the second day, and old Barger walked over the hills from somewhere to stuff the sausages—a silent old man, who worked by the light of a dim kitchen lamp. Lard boiled in huge iron pots over logs of full cord length, and some portion of the pig was served up for weeks after that. I loathed a dish called " pudding " that Uncle Henry smacked his lips over. It was a black stew, a witches' brew, and was served as a relish at breakfast or supper. Then there were chines and jowls and middling and spareribs and fried soused pigs feet. I have seen two six-mule teams bringing butchered pigs up to the smoke house. They were very big and stiff and pink. I had no revulsion when regarding them. They seemed a part of the natural order, pigs for the meat house. I only got very tired of eating them from their heads to their tails and particularly disliked that portion called chine. I have not so much as heard of it for years. Yet, as pigs are still pigs, chines must be incorporated in their structure, but probably under another name. One does not hear of middling any more either. It may be bacon, only with us it was boiled, then baked with sugar on top as beans are baked. Excellent with roast chicken when cut thin! Food has its interest. At Clynmalira we had plenty of it, but after the negroes left, the cooking may not have been very good for a time. In winter for breakfast there were always buckwheat cakes, and in summer there was always hot rye loaf and egg pone (a corn bread, like Virginia spoon bread). Great crocks of bonny-clabber, ice cold and creamy on top, and curd in addition came on with the evening meal in summer, and of course there was fruit then. Sometimes a fruit supper would be served at nine—peaches, pears, cantaloupe, and watermelon after it had spent a week in the ice house. But we children went to the garden and had fruit at all times of the day, and when

cherries were ripe we were as much in the trees as the robins and blackbirds. Usually on Sundays wine was served at dinner, sherry or Madeira, and we children were given a glass as a matter of course. It was considered good for us, as was ale in winter. My mother in town always had good cooks. Old Eliza's soups I have not forgotten—crab gumbo, and calves' head. Then Cassy's breads—her Maryland biscuits, rolls, waffles and English muffins! Old Robert's terrapin and canvasback ducks! The Browns had a ducking shore called Marshy Point. That is how we came to have so many wild ducks in season. Why should I mention such things? Well, Pepys did. One of my early memories takes in the period when the cooking at Clynmalira was still done before a great open fire, when saucepans stood on " spiders " and frying pans on live coals, and chickens were roasted on spits in a Dutch oven. After the negroes left a stove was introduced and primitive methods ended, save in the laundry. The size of the laundry was unmerciful in summer. Clothesbaskets would not have held the soiled linen, ruffled petticoats, and lawn dresses. All were tossed into a great bin in the attic, to be boiled later in a mighty iron pot in the kitchen yard, and after that, pressed by old Matilda in a not too well lighted basement room, the irons heated before an open wood fire. The iron andirons there my dear Mary sits beside every winter day now. No doubt they were forged in the blacksmith's shop either at Sweet Air or Clynmalira. All large places South had their own smithies.

I can't remember the time when Johnny Melville was not a familiar figure at Clynmalira. In winter he did nothing but chop wood at the woodpile and bring it up in armsful to the bedrooms and into the kitchen, and in summer he turned gardener and planter and brought in the vegetables and fruits. He was an Irishman as were the Butlers, and later the Hanleys. I might call them the head employees on the estate. Old Mrs. Hanley was the dairy woman. The dairy was some distance from the house, but not too far for Mary and me to be constant visitors to it. The walled-in dairy spring held a speckled trout that we liked to watch dart in and out of his hiding place. Then there was a crayfish or two lumbering about. But best of all I liked to see the pans lifted out of the water troughs and the thick yellow cream roll up on the skimmer. Everything that went on

at the dairy was of interest—the curd draining in pointed bags from trees, the crocks and pans boiling over their own oven, the wooden paddles turning in the wooden churns. The buttermilk, gold dotted, I did not enjoy then as I would now.

It was a busy life we children were in the midst of. Just as city men went to their offices, grandpa and Uncle Henry mounted their horses after breakfast and rode to the fields to oversee " the hands " at work in them. They were out all day, save for the hour allowed for dinner, after which Uncle Henry would walk down the gravel path to the near end of the long hedge, blow a horn and call, " Come boys! " and work would start again. The life of a gentleman farmer was an independent one, and comfortable fortunes were made by it for many a year, but I doubt if it yielded much profit after the sixties. I am glad I was privileged to see something of what may be called the romantic period of farming in Maryland before it passed off the scene. It taught me to love the land, and to know a little about what comes out of the earth. I like those words of Lord Morley: " We lose a proper sense of richness of life if we do not look back on scenes of our youth with imaginative warmth." Well, I think those early scenes, and their kind and enduring associations so far off, yet so close, deserve this exquisite recall.

We had a huge family in summer at Clynmalira, often sitting down twelve and fourteen at table, so there could not be much entertaining of neighbors near or far, but old Dr. Thompson was always a welcome guest—a tall, rather large-boned man, with mild, kindly, light gray eyes, a long nose and mouth somewhat depressed. He had a high colour due probably to his outdoor life, and he dealt in powders and pills in which he had implicit faith, so he cured us of many minor ills. He liked to talk of his garden, for he was a keen lover of flowers, especially of roses, and he would discuss with grandpa, at planting time, the merits of the " Early Rose " and Bermuda potato.

Sometimes, but after all, rarely, Miss Ann Nisbet would drive up from her place near Ashland and dine with us. Grandpa liked her. She amused him. She was a farmer and could discuss crops and breeds of cattle with him. I have a pretty picture of Aunt Mary in my mind on one of these occasions. The day was hot, the shutters in the drawing room were bowed, and she entered

dressed in a lavender silk, wearing over it a mull jacket exquisitely embroidered with sprays of wheat—the colors and softness very becoming to her pale red hair and fair skin. By nature, Aunt Mary was very gay, but I never realized this till later in life when we became as intimate as two sisters. My husband was very fond of both her and Uncle Henry. I like to remember this. And Aunt Hatty, the guardian of my childhood! I was asked once what was her history. I answered, " I can't say that she had any." She lost herself in other's lives. To quote old Sir Thomas Browne, " The great part among us must be content to be as though they had not been." Especially was this true of the unmarried woman of the past, giving all, receiving little in return. Aunt Hatty was no disciplinarian, perhaps because she had to do always with other people's children. I loved her, and there is no memory out of childhood more radiant than that I have of winter evenings by her fire and she reading aloud to me the *Waverly Novels.* They awakened for me past centuries and set my imagination throbbing in sympathy with the sorrows of an older time, or dancing with its joys. . . .

I think I was scarcely in my teens when Mary and I heard with a thrill of excitement that Cousin Jennie Carroll of Duddington was coming up from Washington to see grandpa, who was her first cousin. When she arrived every one welcomed her, and she by her sweetness made a place for herself in our affections. Later our elders conceived the idea that she had come on this visit hoping to revive in grandpa an ancient loyalty. He had never ceased to speak of himself as a Catholic; then why should he not actively return to the faith of his fathers? We never knew if any word on this subject passed between Cousin Jennie and grandpa, but if it did, she met with no encouragement. He was simply not interested. Mary and I, however, were deeply interested in Cousin Jennie's conversion, and we thought this might be brought about by our singing loudly in the room next to hers " From Greenland's icy mountains." There was that telling line in it, " The heathen in their blindness bow down to wood and stone." But no turning towards the light in Catholicism, or in Protestantism, occurred downstairs or up. . . .

Now must have vanished the Christmas days of childhood when Carroll, my brother, would come out from town for the holidays,

and he and I would hang our stockings at the top of Aunt Hatty's high post bed, make candy in the frying pan over her fire, spend mornings on the ice pond, and evenings with raisins and nuts and apples by the same cheerful hearth—dear Aunt Hatty enduring the disorder with only an occasional remonstrance.

By the time I was fifteen I had ceased to be a little barbarian. The ground floor west end room was not occupied that summer at Clynmalira, as Carroll had gone to work in the City, so I used it to sit in. I think Mary and Aunt Mary were away. I sat in it with my books. I smile to think what they were: Hanna's *Life of Dr. Thomas Chalmers* in three volumes—having a passion for Scotland I could absorb them—and Guizot's *History of Civilization.* I decorated the room with ferns and some of the cut ones I put in an old powder horn and hung it by the window—my first attempt at homemaking. Even now the smell of ferns takes me back to that shaded room and the summer of 1874.

One evening in the autumn of the same year when I was spending a few days with my mother in town (she was then living on Franklin Street), by appointment, Duncan McCulloch called for me, and we went up to the Brown Memorial Church to hear Dr. Sparhawk Jones preach. His text was, " The creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope." From that hour nothing has moved my spirit more deeply than a great sermon, great in conception, great in vision, great in the power of words. Ten years later, August 28, 1884, John Sparhawk Jones and I were married in my sister's home in Green Spring Valley. The succeeding twenty-six years held all the deepest experiences of life for me, and " I shall remember while the light yet lives, and in the darkness I shall not forget." . . .

I have felt, writing along, that all being recorded was dead wood. Why not let it moulder? Then there came to me the picture of dead cypress trees on the skyline of the Tamiami Trail that I once saw in Florida, and how the sunlight fell upon them and turned them into molten silver. I suppose some of the love I have in my heart for the place and the friends of my childhood silver my memories for me. There were shadows and heartbreaks. Where has life ever been without them? But in the last days, when the ingathering of memory comes, let there be more smiles

than tears, more commendation than criticism, more gratitude than unthankfulness.

May 1935. Lilacs bloom against old stone walls in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and many a forsaken door step in New England is shaded by their purple. . . . Let us rise and call them blessed who left us these gifts in purple and white. " A plant to set," as Thoreau said. And sitting here under a tree, only yesterday, made free at last by sunshine, I looked out over the pastures, and let my thoughts drift as the little clouds above me drifted, and I found coming to me flowers out of childhood, bleeding hearts, and cowslips, bridal wreath and laburnum. Were the lilacs still blooming where I first learned to know them? I rather hoped those lilacs were not. They should be spirits and dreams today.

Yes, I sat there in the sun, and a sandy mockingbird came three times and sang in the branches above me. Young calves were being led one by one to a new pasture. They went contending and struggling. They had no faith in their drivers, no belief in the greater good ahead. There goes a parable, I thought.

It was sweet to be out with the scarcely unfolded leaves, so good to be one with the common things of earth and sky, and to feel " the green leaf of America " printed on my heart. My country, the homeland of all those whom I had known and loved! Immortal love that pardons all!

Goodbye to the life I used to live
And the world I used to know
And kiss the hills for me just once
Now I am ready to go.

NEWTOWN HUNDRED

By Edwin W. Beitzell

THE record of the boundaries of Newtown Hundred in St. Mary's County, Maryland, appears to have been lost and investigation reveals that the area of the Hundred takes in considerably more territory than Newtown Neck, which is commonly regarded as the area of the Hundred. While the boundaries are unknown, we do know that they extended from the east shore of St. Clement's Bay considerably beyond the east shore of Bretton Bay, with the Potomac River forming the natural southern boundary. Medley's Neck on the east shore of Bretton Bay was the plantation of John Medley, who was designated as being of "Newtowne."[1] Posey's Bluff, on the southeast side of Bretton Bay, along the Potomac, was the home of Francis Posey of "Newtowne" and his estate was administered by Walter Hall in 1658, also of "Newtowne."[2] John Hammond of Newtown, who agreed to build a "Courthouse at his own Cost and Charges" for St. Mary's County, also was located on the east side of Bretton Bay, about a mile east of Leonardtown. He purchased this land from Walter Peake (Pakes), whose plantation, "St. Lawrence," and adjoining land, "St. Peter's Hill," was at this location.[3] This would place the scene of the county court activities in the vicinity of the present Court House at Leonardtown rather than down on Newtown Neck as many have supposed.

The St. Mary's County court was established first in Newtown Hundred on August 26, 1644, when Giles Brent, Lieutenant General of the Province, appointed William Brainthwait, Thomas

[1] *Archives of Maryland*, X, 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, XLI, 46.
[3] *Ibid.*, X, 321, 345, 385, 410; XLI, 266, 453; XLIX, 168, 224, 277, 354; LI, 270; LVII, 322, 325. The writer is indebted to Mr. Charles Fenwick, President, St. Mary's Historical Society, who pointed out the approximate boundaries of "St. Lawrence" and "St. Peter's Hill." "St. Lawrence" is now the site of Camp Calvert operated by the Xavierian Brothers. St. Lawrence Creek and Run is now called Town Run and when it reaches St. Mary's Academy, on St. Peter's Hill, it is called "The Sisters Run."

Green and Cuthbert Fenwick " to heare & determine all civil causes, & likewise all criminall causes not extending to life or member. . . ." [4] On October 20, 1654, the Assembly passed another act again establishing the St. Mary's County court, apparently designed to remove it somewhat from the domination of the provincial court.[5]

There were many people living on Newtown Neck at this time because the agreement with John Hammond on December 5, 1654, to provide a court house also provided that he would furnish " a ferry for the Convenient passage of people over Newtowne River." [6] Apparently the intent of this agreement was that the ferry would operate between the east shore of Bretton Bay and the west shore, which was Newtowne Neck, as there is no Newtown River. It is difficult to understand the use of the words Newtowne River because the body of water between the east and west shores has been known since 1640 as Brittaine (Bretton) Bay.[7] The agreement, incidentally, also provided " that Licence be granted to the Said Hammond for retayling of wine and Strong Liquors. . . ."

The scene in Newtown Hundred must have been picturesque during this period. Along the shores could be seen cabins and huts while in scattered clearings stood the more pretentious brick homes of the planters. Both St. Clement and Bretton Bays were dotted with the sails of small boats plying up and down the Potomac River and across its eight-mile width to Virginia, for water, at this time, was still the chief means of transportation. At the port anchorage [8] the great square-rigged ships of England loaded hogsheads of tobacco to be exchanged for products needed by the colonists. After loading, they sailed down the river to the Chesapeake Bay for a rendezvous with their sister ships to form a flotilla for protection against pirates or enemy fleets lurking about the Capes.[9]

A narrow road, overshadowed by a forest of virgin pine, oak,

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 150-1; LIII, xii.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 347; XLIX, x.
[6] *Ibid.*, X, 410.
[7] Patent for Little Bretton in Newtown Hundred, File 100½ Z, Archives of The Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland, hereafter cited as Woodstock Archives.
[8] *Archives of Maryland*, VII, 504.
[9] *Ibid.*, VII, 430; XVII, 350; XIX, 546; XX, 496-9, 514, 532, 535, 557, 570; XLI, 306.

gum and chestnut, branched at the head of Newtown Neck to lead the traveler to St. Mary's City or the Patuxent River. Bands of wild horses roamed about preying upon the planter's crops,[10] while wolves and other wild animals played havoc with his stock.[11] At the " Quarter " could be seen the bark wigwams of the Indians who dwelt in peace with the settlers, except that on occasion some luckless pig found his way into the communal pot of the redman instead of the smoke house of the colonist.[12] The provincial youngsters skylarked across open field and through shadowy woods to the school at Little Bretton, no doubt envying the freedom of the little redskins who were not bothered by such tiresome doings.

Sundays and court days saw great activity from one end of the Hundred to the other for the settlers poured in from all directions by boat and horse to attend church services and to be present at the court sessions. The inns of John Hammond and Walter Peake were crowded and every home had its contingent of visiting relatives and guests.[13] After the day's court session was over parties were in order and a general spirit of festivity reigned. Since travel was still hazardous and difficult the colonists made the most of these occasions.

In 1677 the Jesuits opened a school for humanities at Newtown.[14] Whether this was a continuation or enlargement of the school founded by Ralph Crouch about 1653 is unknown.[15] Two bays sent from this school in 1681 to St. Omer's were Robert Brooke, the first native-born Marylander to become a Jesuit priest, and Thomas Gardiner, a son of Luke Gardiner. Thomas Hothersall, S. J., taught " humanities " and grammar at the school from 1683 until his death in 1698.[16] The location of the school is unknown but it is probable that it was in the vicinity of the Newtown Manor House. The church yard of St. Francis Xavier Church, which is near the Manor House, was used as a burial plot for the priests and lay brothers of the parish from 1685 to 1862.

[10] *Ibid.*, XIII, 549.
[11] *Ibid.*, VII, 292, 296; XIII, 520.
[12] *Ibid.*, III, 392.
[13] *Ibid.*, LVII, 157, 182; V, 20; LII, xii.
[14] Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), p. 115.
[15] Edwin W. Beitzell, " William Bretton of Newtown Neck, St. Mary's County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, L (1955), 24.
[16] Edward I. Devitt, S. J., " History of the Maryland-New York Province," *Woodstock Letters* (The Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, privately printed and circulated), LXI, 16.

(A handsome monument has been erected to their memory.) It is interesting to note that Protestant church services were held at the home of Robert Joyner of Newtown on January 19, 1661.[17]

Newtown Neck probably reached its greatest importance about 1700. As a result of the Rebellion of 1689, and the Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery [18] which followed, the church and school at Newtown were closed in 1704. With the closing of the church, located in the cemetery grounds some distance from the Manor House, it is evident that a chapel was erected beside the Manor House and connected to it, which was permissible under the Act.[19] Mr. Henry Chandlee Forman has observed that although the ancient square chapel beside the house has disappeared, traces of its foundations are still evident.[20] And Father William P. Treacy, writing in 1884, stated, " Between the present church and the Manor-house, the foundations of some ancient building may still be traced. Those who have examined them carefully say that they were, judging from their form, the foundations of a church which was built anteriorly to the present one." [21] He also stated that " a new bell was lately purchased for Newtown. The old one which was taken down with reverential care, bears the date 1691." This bell is now mounted in the entrance to the present church.[22]

On February 28, 1694/5 the seat of government of the Province was removed from St. Mary's City to Ann Arundel Town (Annapolis) and on May 8, 1695, a bill was passed transferring the St. Mary's County court to St. Mary's City.[23] With the decline of activity at St. Mary's City and the removal of many of the inhabitants, it soon become apparent that a more central location was needed for the county seat. Consequently, about 1708 the St. Mary's County court was removed to Leonardtown, originally

[17] *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 522.
[18] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 340.
[19] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 380, 431. The original Church was erected in 1662. See Beitzell, *op. cit.*
[20] *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), p. 44.
[21] *Woodstock Letters*, *op. cit.*, XIII, 74.
[22] There is some inconclusive evidence that the Chapel at St. Mary's City was destroyed in 1689 and afterwards rebuilt. Fathers Robert Brooke and William Hunter, on September 11, 1704, were summoned before the Maryland Council for " dedicating a Popish Chapel " there (*Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 44). It is possible that the Chapel was rebuilt in 1691 and a new bell obtained in that year. After the Chapel was closed (1704) and torn down, the bell may have been brought by the Jesuits to Newtown, according to Mr. Charles E. Fenwick.
[23] *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 193, 197, 221; XIX, 214.

called Seymour Town.[24] The erection of a new court house was authorized in 1736 to replace the old building.[25] After the transfer of the court to St. Mary's City, Newtown Neck rapidly declined in importance and did not revive when the court was brought to Leonardtown. In a few years it became as it is today, merely another rural farm area with a scattering of fisherman along its shores.

Beginning about 1735 the Jesuit Fathers started raising fine horses at their plantations. In the early days the missionaries visited their parishioners by boat, as there were few roads, but after the people had settled down some distance from the rivers and creeks, the priests traveled about on horseback, taking with them everything that was necessary for services at the various stations. Altar stone, vestments, missal, wine and vessels were put in the saddle bags, and the Fathers were ready to gallop away. As the ordinary farm horse was scarcely suitable for this purpose, necessity compelled them to procure and breed better stock. Father Joseph Zwinge, S. J., has written,[26]

in the times of Father (Henry) Whetenhall (1735) all had first class horses, as you may judge from the list of names found in a certain pigskin memorandum book of Newtown (now in the Woodstock Archives). Their names are indicative of their good qualities; Thunder, Mischief and Hazzard, Smoaker, Ranter and Snip, Squirrel, Cricket and Spider, and so on; then Tulip, Pansy and Daisy, Rainbow, Philomel and Daphne, and others. There were about twenty of them at Newtown. Thunder was the pride of Father (Arnold) Livers, who took his measure several times during his growth, and when he had acquired a good girth, he was sold for 4,000 lbs. of tobacco; Pansy brought only 2,000, Rainbow was knocked down for 12 pounds Sterling, Daphne was given away for six pistoles and Smoaker was swapped for Blacko. Father (Richard) Ellis first tried Phoenix, and then he was sold to Father (George) Hunter of St. Thomas' for 1,000 lbs. of tobacco; Ranter also found his way to St. Thomas' but there Father (Thomas) Poulton exchanged him for a Roan. Father (Bennet) Neale rode Snip, and Father (James) Carroll bestrode Jett; but Tulip had many masters, first Father Poulton, then Father (John) Diggs and finally Father (James) Ashby; this Father was the Horse Tamer of Newtown, for Mischief and Hazzard were his favorites. . . . On his going down (to Newtown) Father (James) Whitgreave took the pigskin memorandum book with him, and intended to use it as a Marriage register, for he wrote in it the following item: " Marriages from my

[24] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 569. The official removal date is given as 1710.
[25] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 483.
[26] *Woodstock Letters*, *op. cit.*, XLI, 62.

arrival in Newtowne Dec. 9, 1734, John Drury and Sus. Hayden, Dec. 10, ye Banns were published." That is the only entry made. In 1739, Father Whitgreave turned all the property over to Father Richard Molyneux, and left for England. Then Father Arnold Livers, the next Superior at Newtown got a hold on the book, put his initials on the cover, ruled it out for a Baptismal Register, wrote down the name of the god-fathers he could call upon, and baptized Elizabeth Millard on September 22, 1740, and after that he used it for a register of horses and stock raised on the farm. . . ."

Father James Ashby, S. J., is credited with having built the present Church of St. Francis Xavier at Newtown in 1766. Father Treacy wrote, " To Father George Fenwick's notes I am indebted for the knowledge that Father Ashby was the builder of the present Church at Newtown." [27] In the old Newtown ledger for the years 1765-1768, in the Woodstock Archives, there is recorded a bill, dated September, 1766, from James Martindale to the Rev. James Ashby which includes items such as getting stone for the chapel and helping to burn bricks, thus bearing out Father Fenwick's notes. The front addition to the Church, completed in 1767, was to provide a vestibule beneath and a choir loft above (referred to by Father Ashby as the " Quire "). In Father James Walton's diary (in the Woodstock Archives) there are recorded contributions to the Newtown Chapel in 1772, which is a good reason to believe that he participated actively in the building of the Church. This, the present Church of St. Francis Xavier at Newtown, is not only the oldest in origin of all the Catholic churches in that section of St. Mary's County, but it also outdates in existence all other Catholic churches in Maryland.

The Fathers at Newtown maintained in the Manor House one of the early circulating libraries in Maryland. Old records in the Provincial Archives at Woodstock show that the books of the library were lent to many people in St. Mary's County, and records were carefully maintained to insure their return. Among the names on the record of the books lent in 1740 are found, Eleanor Millar, Thomas Mattingly, Francis Herbert, B. Thompson, Edward Cole, George Slye and Charles Neale.

Father James Walton, S. J., was the Superior of the Jesuit Residence at Newtown during the Revolutionary War when the area

[27] Rev. Wm. P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries* (Swedesboro, N. J. [1889]), p. 138.

was subjected to the depredations of the British. On April 24, 1781, Colonel Richard Barnes, stationed at Leonardtown, wrote to Governor Lee that " four negroes of Rev'd Mr. Walton have been taken by the British. . . ." [28] Father Treacy in writing about Newtown during the War stated " its peace was often disturbed by red-coated soldiers who sometimes knocked in its doors with the butts of their villainous guns." [29] This statement is based on a letter of the times, also quoted by Father E. A. Ryan, S. J., in his history of St. Aloysius Parish of Leonardtown.[30] Father Zwinge wrote,[31]

I do not in the least doubt of the facts mentioned here; they are most true, except that instead of simply saying " they sometimes knocked in its doors with the butts of their villainous guns," I would have put " they knocked in the cellar door with the butts of their villainous guns," because Newtown had the finest cellar in the whole mission, and in this cellar were stored away the finest dried beef, pickled tongue, smoked hams and barrels of finest pork, middlings, gammons and joles. That the American Army was down there, at least in 1779, is apparent from the good price the Superior of Newtown received for some bacon. In his memorandum book he marked down; " Sold 200 lbs. of bacon to the army at 3.6d."

In the old Newtown ledger for 1788 at Woodstock there are many entries for expenditures indicating that extensive building operations or repairs were necessary on the plantation following the war. There is little doubt that Newtown suffered its full share of the ravages visited on the waterfront plantations by the British.

Father Walton while at Newtown from 1765 to 1768 and again from 1769 to 1784 kept a diary in which he recorded a number of baptisms and marriages (see Appendix). Many marriages among the Negroes were recorded by Father Walton during these years. Also included are the names of some of the donors to Newtown Chapel with the amount of their contributions. Eleanor Cecil on her deathbed, December 11, 1772, left five pounds which was paid by her brother James, who also contributed ten shillings of his own. Philip Greenwell gave one pound, fifteen shillings, on February 9, 1773, and Ignatius Taylor gave five shillings in

[28] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 204.
[29] *Woodstock Letters, op. cit.*, XIV, 67.
[30] *Pages From the Story of an Ancient Parish.*
[31] *Woodstock Letters, op. cit.*, XLII, 147.

May or June of this same year. In 1776 John Cecil gave five pounds to Newtown for his deceased brother, and three pounds were given for Joseph Spink by his friend Neddy.

Father Leonard Edelen, S. J., was Superior of the Jesuit Residence at Newtown during the War of 1812. There is little surviving evidence on British depredations at Newtown during this war. A newspaper of the time [32] reports that on July 21, 1813, several British ships had taken possession of Blackistone's (St. Clement's) and Cheseldine's (St. Catherine's) Islands, where they sank wells for water. They probably continued to use these islands as watering places during the war and harassed the waterfront plantations as they had in the Revolutionary War. Because of its exposed situation Newtown undoubtedly was raided on occasion. In the raid on Leonardtown, July 19, 1814, a heavy force was landed near Newtown which marched by land up Newtown Neck to approach the town to the west.[33] Another force marched up Medley's Neck from the east and a fleet of barges, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, approached the town by going up Bretton Bay. The British force could hardly have missed Captain Joseph Ford's shipyard on the creek in the back of the Newtown Manor House. In a Newtown ledger in the Woodstock Archives there is an entry by Father Ignatius Baker Brooke dated December 8, 1809, debiting Captain Ford for $1,000 worth of " Timber for Ship Yard." A later entry in the same ledger discloses that the Fathers lost a " battew " built in April, 1799, and were forced to have another built in 1816 at a cost of fifteen dollars. Admiral Cockburn had ordered that all boats that could be found were to be confiscated or destroyed.[34] Father Treacy wrote the following account in 1885,[35]

> the British soldiers who sailed around the Potomac and the waters of Brittons Bay and St. Clement's made Newtown a place of insecurity and unrest. For months, such was the unsettled and troubled state of things that no public service could be held at the Newtown church. As an example, I have been told that on a certain Sunday when the people had gathered into the church to hear mass the alarm was given that a British sloop of war had entered Brittons Bay. Great was the consternation of the Congregation. The Priest who was in the act of preaching finished

[32] [Washington] *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 21, 1813.
[33] *Niles Weekly Register*, VII, 80.
[34] *Ibid.*, V, 206.
[35] *Woodstock Letters*, *op. cit.*, XIV, 82.

his discourse immediately and urged the people to fly at once to their homes. They reluctantly abandoned him, and he went on to finish the Holy Sacrifice of the mass. At St. Inigo's which was certainly in a most unsettled state, Sunday services were not omitted.

The interruption of services at St. Francis Xavier's may have occurred on August 27, 1814, when, according to a newspaper report, " Admiral Cockburn with 1200 marines, and about 40 sailors, landed on the farm of John Kilgour, esq., at the mouth of St. Clement's Bay." [36] The article goes on to relate that they took much stock, but notified the people that private buildings would be respected unless the troops were fired upon. With a force of this size there seems little likelihood that they would be fired upon and less likelihood that much of value escaped the raiders. It is quite understandable why Father Edelen urged his people " to fly " homeward. A great many who attended services at St. Francis Xavier's came from across the two bays by sailboat, and these boats would certainly have been lost unless securely hidden in the many creeks in the area. The newspaper article goes on to relate,

on last Wednesday week, a detachment from the enemy's shipping in the Patuxent, in pursuit of stock landed at Mr. Benedict Heard's in St. Mary's. Lt. Col. Ashton immediately detached in pursuit of them Capt. Blackstone's rifle corps and Capt. Brown's company of infantry. The enemy discovered them and retreated with great precipitation to their barges. On the next day they burnt every house on the land, all of which had been recently repaired, his loss is estimated at upwards of four thousand dollars.

Another newspaper reports that on July 27, 1814, the enemy was around Blackistone's Island and at the head of St. Clement's Bay pillaging and plundering the water front farms.[37] On August 4th they were in possession of Chaptico, where they desecrated the Episcopal Church, ruined the tile floor with their horses, smashed windows, opened and robbed graves and used some of the old sunken graves for barbecue pits.

Newtown could hardly have escaped without suffering and damage. Indeed, at the end of the war, Father Edelen immediately plunged into a great building and repair program. There are many entries in the ledger for this time including one for

[36] *Niles Weekly Register*, VII, 50.
[37] [Washington] *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 27, Aug. 4, Oct. 21, 1814.

glazing 120 window lights. The Newtown ledgers also disclose that the slaves were sent to Frederick in 1814 to prevent their falling into the hands of the British, and it was necessary for Father Edelen to secure sheep from the Jesuit plantation at White Marsh in May, 1815, in order to restock Newtown. There is a tradition in the "Neck" that the British desecrated the ancient cemetery at Newtown. It is said that the redcoats in their march up the Neck to Leonardtown (or more likely on their return journey) camped near the cemetery to prepare a meal and used the gravestones for field ovens. Father Treacy reported in 1884 that many of the stones were piled under an old cherry tree in the field of Mr. Dent Jarboe which adjoined the cemetery.[38] The oldest stone that can be found in the cemetery now is dated 1788.

In 1868 the Jesuit residence was removed from Newtown to Leonardtown. Since that time the old Manor House has been occupied by the overseer or farms manager. Father Zwinge in writing about this transfer stated,[39]

> since the removal of the Fathers from Newtown to Leonardtown, the old church has decreased considerably in the number of parishioners as also in the splendor of church services. The priest visits the place every second Sunday, reads out his well considered announcements, and preaches with fiery eloquence, and the pews are, except on grand occasions, only half filled, the galleries half empty, the choir is deserted, the harmonium silent, and the poor church mouse nibbles at the leather of the bellows. The bell too which in olden days made the Angelus reecho o'er both bays from shore to shore, has nigh ceased its cheerful sound and hangs almost mute in the little steeple, except to ring for mass in mournful notes, but faith and devotion and love of God are as humble and fervent as of yore. The early missioners lie beneath the sod in the shadow of the church; their graves are forgot, not their deeds; no human hand has chiselled their names in marble stone, but the angels have writ their works on the everlasting scroll of life. Some years ago the good pastor set up a new cross to their memory, and there it stands over the dead, a silent preacher unto the living, of poverty, humility and contempt of fame.

In recent years the members of the Society of Jesus have "chiselled" the names of these great soldiers of St. Ignatius and illustrious sons of the church in marble and their Monument stands near the entrance to St. Francis Xavier's Church. Father Zwinge would be happy, too, to know that now mass is said at

[38] *Woodstock Letters, op. cit.*, XIII, 116.
[39] *Ibid.*, XL, 194.

8:00 and 10:00 a. m. each Sunday, and after the usual announcements are read, the priest preaches with the same fiery eloquence. The old harmonium has been rescued from the mouse, and the choir sings sweetly as of yore. Newtown is well launched into her fourth century.

APPENDIX

BAPTISMS AND MARRIAGES RECORDED IN THE DIARY OF REV. JAMES WALTON, S. J., WHILE AT NEWTOWN [40]

Baptisms

Date	*Name*	*Name of Parents*	*Sponsors*
Dec. 26, 1766	Stephen	Sarah Williams	Dick Joy & John Drury
Feb. 8, 1767	Thomas	Mary Dyne	Nick Sellikton & Susan Pyke
" " "	Ignatius	Elizabeth Thompson	Phil Brewer & Ann Seford
" " "	Abram	Anna Lord	Jos. Greenwell & Mrs. Slye
Feb. 25, 1767	Mary	Lyena Joy	Michael & Mary Drury
Apr. 5, "	Ignatius	Anna Joy	Joan & Monica Riley
Apr. 11, "	Ralph	Jos. & Ann Mattingly	Mary Ann Brown & Thos. Jones
Apr. 12, "	Benjamin	Anna Bradburn	Mat Pakini & Lucy Ford
Apr. 12, "	William	H. Jarboe	Fra Ford & Ann Wimsatt
Apr. 19, "	Jac	Basil & Mary Knot	Fra & Monica Drury
May 28, "	Rebecca	——— Brown	Susan Brown
" 31, "	Christina	Henry & Ann Lucas	Jos. Millard & Eleanor Campbell
June 14, "	Dorothy	Jos. & Mary Nalls	——— ———

Marriages

Date	*Names*
Dec. 4, 1769	Jack. Murrein & Mary Johnson
" 11, "	Jos. Peak & Susan Yets (Yates)
" " "	Ignatius Drury & Anastasia French
Dec. 11, 1769	Jos. Payn & Binnie Stuart
" " "	Bernaar Newton & Mary Payn
Jan. 20, 1770	Zachar. Barnes & Susan Thompson
" 28, "	Harry Sewall & Sarah Roach
" " "	Jos. Simpson & Mary Jarboe
Feb. 27, "	Edw. Stone & Anna Joy
Mar. 22, "	Ignatuis Norris & Lucia Pike
Aug. 18, "	John Baptist Norris & M. Woodward
" 25, "	Stephen Wimsatt & Mary Low
Sept. 3, "	Philip Fenwick & Rebecca Greenwell
" 4, "	Phillip Drury & Ann Newton
" 6, "	John Russell & Susan French
" 30, "	Jos. & Ann Digges
Nov. 3, "	Michael Drury & Ann Yets (Yates)
Dec. 3, "	Roger & Maria Brooke (3rd cousins)
" 4, "	Jos. Dean & Joan Stone
" 21, "	Geo. Collins & Ann Lucas
Jan. 20, 1771	Raphael Ford & Anne Spalden
Feb. 5, "	Jos. Williams & Ann Heard (dau of Jac Heard)
" 7, "	Richard Poily & Susan Hayden

[40] File 6.3, Woodstock Archives.

Marriages *Date*		*Names*
Apr. 20,	"	Bennet Hodgkins & Susan Gatten
" 21,	"	Jac. Malohone & Maria Langley
June 17,	"	Francis Wheatley & Anastasia Cecil
* " 25,	"	Michael Taney & Monica Brooke
July 22,	"	Ben Cusack & Ann Jones
Aug. 5,	1771	Ignatius Carroll & Winifred Contsidur
Sept. 19,	"	Jac Vowels & Priscilla Payn
" 23,	"	Francis Roberts & Mary Pillsbrough
Dec. 30,	"	Enoch Campbell & Eliz. Hall
Feb. 11,	1772	Luke Mattingly & Eliz. Thompson
" 18,	"	Joseph Shanks & Susanna Goldsmith
" 25,	"	Thomas Thompson & Henrietta Abel
May 29,	"	Thomas Carbery & Monica Reily
July 18,	"	Richard Tarleton & Eliz. Tiford
Sept. 16,	"	Joshua Clark & Mary Bowles
Oct. 15,	"	Zacharia Abell & Mary Strong
" 19,	"	Chas. Jarboe & Eliz. Stone
Nov. 10,	"	Joshua Melton & Sara Molohorn
" 11,	"	John Fenwick & Mary Thompson
" 17,	"	Rod Jarboe & Monica Williams
" 28,	"	Thos. Jarboe & Ann Lucas
Dec. 22,	"	Aquilla Hall & Mary Davis
" "	"	Jos. Thornhill & Monica Brown
" 23,	"	Ignatius Goddard & Ann Payn
" 29,	"	Jos. Stone & Dorothy Spink
" 31,	"	Ignatius Wimsatt & Mary Medley
Jan. 4,	1773	Geo. Ford & Dominica Plowden
Feb. 14,	"	Jeremy Gatten & Eliz. Drury
Mar. 6,	"	Jac. Norris & Monica Greenwell
" 21,	"	Hugo Williams & Lydia Stone
" 30,	"	Alban Newton & Marion Pike
May 25,	"	Jac. French & Susan Melton
" 26,	"	Edmund Jenkins & Eliz. Milborn
July 9,	"	Patrick Hogan & Eliz. Engleton
" 27,	"	Thos. Riswicke & Mary Nottingham
Sept. 7,	"	Sylvester Wheatley & Eliz. Fraiser
" 27,	"	Thos. Brewer & Minta Dawsey
" 28,	"	Ricard Wathan & Eleanor Mattingly
Nov. 8,	"	Ignatius Abel & Mary Abel
" 11,	"	Enoch Stone & Monica Goldsberry
" 13,	"	Jos. Smith & Joanna Manning
Dec. 21,	"	Pelham Brown & Susan Low
Jan. 31,	1774	Anton Brown & Ann Brewer
" "	"	Joshua Greenwell & Eliz. Newton
" "	"	Leonard Johnson & Mary Malohorn
Apr. 10,	"	Raphael Greenwell & Cloe Tarlton
May 27,	"	G. Russell & Ann Draden Abell
June 19,	"	Cuthbert Clark & Mary Ann Brown
July 3,	"	Thos. Fenwick & Eliz. Thomas
" 12,	"	Jos. Drudge & Ann Howard
Sept. 12,	"	John Dean & Mary More
Oct. 1,	"	John Smith & Eliz. Ford
" 11,	"	Wilford Thompson & Ann Shircliff

* Got dispensation.

Marriages

Date	*Names*
Nov. 5, "	Jesse Floyd & Eliz. Swales
Dec. 31, "	Basil Nottingham & Joanna Stone
Feb. 8, 1775	Bernard Newton & Mary Pike
" 16, "	Thos. Joy & Sara Fields
" 28, "	Richard Pilketon & Anna Hutchings
July 10, "	John Reed & Rebecca Latham
" 25, "	John Hardesty & Catherine Thompson
Aug. 8, "	Daniel Friend & Cloe Sayr
Sept. 30, "	Phillip Ford & Eliz. Spalden
Oct. 24, "	Gabriel Newton & Henrietta Wheatley
Nov. — "	Ignatius Shirly & Mary Norris
Dec. 14, "	Benedict More & Susan Peacock
" 19, "	Francis Wheeler & Anna Birchmore
Jan. 11, 1776	John Bowles & Eliz. Payn
Feb. 19, "	Wm. Fowler & Mary Mattingly
May 4, "	Jacob More & Ann Dorsey
June 1, "	Thos. Norris & Catherine Mattingly
" 12, "	Jacob Fenwick & Henrietta Howard
July 4, "	Wm. Howard & Eleanora Thompson
" 16, "	Phillip Reed & Ann Smith
Nov. 27, "	Wm. Heard & Susan Abell
Dec. 1, "	Thos. Leach & Eliz. Spalden
Jan. 21, 1777	Ignatius Bowles & Catherine Gough
Mar. 16, "	Jac. Dyne & Eleanora More
" 18, "	Jesse Floyd & Mary Carey Reed
June 20, "	Basil Brown & Ann Mattingly
Aug. 22, "	Jac Fish & Ann Wheatley
Nov. 3, "	Robt. Abell & Margarita Miles
" 20, "	Ignatius Low & Priscilla Norris
Dec. 1, "	Thos. Bryan & Maria Mattingly
Jan. 19, 1778	John Reynolds & Ann French
" 26, "	Zachariah Brewer & Dorothy Cecil
Mar. 23, "	Jas. Wimsatt & Sara Howard
Apr. 19, "	Wm. Clark & Mary Hopewell
" " "	Samuel Derike & Ann Whitfield
Oct. 12, "	Arthur McGill & Ann Stone
Nov. 20, "	Stephen Adams & Henrietta Low
" " "	Jos. Ford & Henrietta Spinks
" " "	Jacob Fenwick & Catherine Ford
Dec. 22, "	Wm. Bradburn & Eliz. Edelen
Feb. 7, 1779	Henry Medley & Margaret Ford
" 21, "	Joseph Stone & Eliz. More
Oct. —	Peter Ford & Maria Sewell
" 21,	Jacob Yets (Yates) & Ann Thompson
Nov. —	John Daft & Anna Spalden
Dec. 21,	Benedict Spalden & Anna Stone
Mar. 5, 1780	Basil Thompson & Cloe Brown
Mar. 9, "	Basil Booth & Eliz. Henry
Nov. 5, 1784	Joseph Stone & Eliz. Swailes

BAPTISMS AND MARRIAGES PERFORMED BY REV. IGNATIUS BAKER BROOKE AT NEWTOWN [41]

Baptisms

Date	*Name*	*Name of Parents*
—— — 1794	Charles	Edm. & Jane Hamersly Plowden
—— — "	Francis	Henry & Nelly Hamersly
June — "	Robert	Francis & ———— Hamersly
—— — 1795	Philip Henry Digges	Raphael & Mary Neale
July 10, 1796	Whifford James	Wm. & Anne Neal Roach
—— — 1797	Elizabeth	Wm. & Ann Neal Roach
Oct. 20, 1799	Anthony	Anthony & Sarah Carter
—— — 1799	Elizabeth	Edw. & ———— Ferrell
—— — "	Susanna	Rhode & Elizabeth Gibson
Nov. 1, "	George	Matthew & Ann Norris
—— — "	Margaret	James Seneder
—— — "	Clement	Slave of Monica Greenwell
Nov. 17, "	John Alexander	Ignatius & Susanna Jarboe
Dec. 8, "	John Alexander	John & Mary Wise
Jan. 2, 1800	Mary	George Hayden
" 5, "	Juliana	Jos. & Ann Thompson
" 6, "	Ann	John & Monica Norris
" 7, "	Lewis Nicolas	Lloyd & Ann Murray

Marriages

Date	*Name*
Aug. 18, 1799	Elisha Tarlton & Ann Greenwell
Dec. 8, "	George Neale & Mary Lee
Jan. 2, 1800	John Nevit & Susanna Milton
" 22, 1801	Aaron Brinnum & Eleanor Peake

William Medley was buried April 13, 1801, at Newtown. He died on April 12th. at the age of 45 and was the son of Clement and Mary Williams Medley.

LIST OF NAMES FROM THE NEWTOWN LEDGERS

1746–1750

William Digges	Richard Key	Edward Cole
William Neale	John Reily	Basil Brook
John Cecil	James Thompson	Joseph Pile
George Thompson	William Roach	Ignatius Ford
Abram Barns	George Slye	Ignatius Wheeler
Raphael Neale		

1765–1768

Henry Howard	John Brewer	John Boone
Sam'l Abell	George Slye	Dr. Henry Jernegen
Mark Heard	Capt. John Stell	Thos. Drury
James Heard	Wm. Williams	J. Fenwick
Richard Heard	Eliz. Wheatley	Benj. Young
Peter Gough	John Hesse	Wm. Homersley
Stephen Gough	Necy Ford	James Jordan
Thos. Key	Raphael Lancaster	Jere Hilton
Wm. Gibson	Thos. McWilliams	Nanny Fletcher
Clement Mattingly	Geo. Medley	Mathias Nothingham
Leonard Mattingly	Josue Mills	John Moreman
Robert Mattingly	Joseph Martindale	Esq. Younge
Ralph Neale	Capt. Perry	Cornelius Brothers
Henry Neale	Leonard Pain	Jas. Carter
Thos. Thompson	Wm. Dennis	Wm. Fletcher
Raphael Thompson		

[41] Newtown ledger, Woodstock Archives.

1784–1797

Edward Stone
James Jordan
Matthew Blair
Joseph Mattingly
Ignatius Mattingly
Vincent Payne
Clement Sewall
Barbara Fenwick
David Clarke
Henry Medley
John Stone
Nicholas Green
Henry Miles
Daniel Rogers
Charles Jenkins
Wm. Bowles
Zach. Forrest
Joshua Millard
Robert Ford
Wm. Spink
James Paterson
Ignatius Drury
Bennet Clarke
Robert Price
Hudson Warthing
Joseph Gough
Cuthbert Heard
James Ford
Ralph Neale
Ralph Cecil
John Foxwell
Bazil Howard
Wm. Bowling
Ignatius Hayden
George Leigh
Gerard Ford
Susan Reeves
Jos. Donaldson
Wm. Knott

1805–1816

Dr. Walter Brooke
Polly Carbery
Peter Carbery
Thomas Carbery
Wm. Hammett
Jas. Hayden
John Leigh
Enoch Millard
Jerry Morgan
James Morgan
Col. Henry Plowden
Chas. Plowden
Neale Plowden
Mary Plowden
John Langley
Chas. Bowling
Joseph Ford
Benj. Gough
Sam Greenwell
Leonard Howard
Elijah Jackson
Bernard Medley
Geo. McWilliams
Joa. Mattingly
Zach. Mattingly
Edw. C. Smith
Richard Smith
E. Taylor
Helen Wathen
Joshua Stewart
Ethelbert Cissel
Mary Clements
John Clements
Mary Griffin
Francis Herbert
Eliz. Llewellin
Ignatius Manning
Richard Merryman
Dr. Wm. Roach
Ignatius Stone
Janet Thompson
Maj. Bennet
Jas. Walker
Chas. Sewall

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE DOWN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY ON A FISHING EXPEDITION, 1824

By Horatio Ridout

SEPTEMBER 15th Set sail in the Sloop *Sea Gull* from Whitehall. John Gibson, Master. Thomas Moss, Mate. Joseph Quay, Pilot. William Hemsly, Steward. John Hall, Cook. Jessy, Ezekial, and Henry, Seamen. Horatio Ridout and John Ridout of H. Passengers.[1]

We crossed over to Kent Island, and landed at John Ridout's to Breakfast, the wind blowing a strong gale all day, from Southward were obliged to send the Sloop round Love Point into *Chester River* for a Harbour.

17th At half after 9 o'clock in the morning hoisted sail with a fine wind from North and by East, and made no Stop untill 5 minutes after 3 o'clock the next morning when we anchored under shelter of New Point Comfort, having run about 155 miles. This place was a Point of *some comfort* to me, as the wind, in the course of the Night, had blown most tremendously hard, and tho the Sloops mainsail was double Reefed, and the Jib Haul'd down, the Boom was constantly dipping in the water and every now and then, a wave would break over the Stern, and drench the Steersman. There was neither Moon Star or

[1] Horatio Ridout (1769-1834), son of the John Ridout who was given Whitehall by Governor Horatio Sharpe, married Rachael Goldsborough and by this marriage had a son John (1793-1868), called John Ridout of H. to distinguish him from his cousin John Ridout. John of H. lived at Belle View on Kent Island. John Gibson was Horatio's brother-in-law and neighbor.

The journal was made available through the generosity of its owner, Mr. Ogle Ridout Singleton, a great-grandson of John Ridout of H. The original text has been followed as closely as possible to preserve the flavor of the journal.

Land to be seen. The Pilot went entirely by the Compass and Lead Line. *I did not like it at all.* I stood all night upon the Cabin Steps, for to Sleep, with me, was impossible.

How different was the famous Prince Dolgoruki of Russia [2] who being on board a Ship and asleep when a violent tempest arose, that by the bravest of the Ship's Company was considered as the Signal of their inevitable destruction, and being awaked by an officer, who expressed his surprise at the Prince being asleep at such a crisis, and told him that must all perish in a short time. "If that be the case replied the Prince, what did you wake me for? I would advise you all to follow my example." He then went to sleep again.

18th It continued blowing hard all this day, after Breakfast we landed on the Point and went up to the Lanthorn in the Light house—but feeling my head giddy—I did not remain there more than five or six minutes. There are *53* Stone Steps leading up to the Light, besides a Short Wooden Step Ladder, from whence I conjecture, the height of the Tower, inclusive of the Land Mound on which it stands, to be about Seventy feet above the level of the water in the Bay. While we were on shore the wind and waves rose so high that the little Yawl, or Tow Boat could not carry us all back to the Sloop. John Ridout and myself remained on the Beach, and saw that it was with difficulty and a good wetting that the others reached the Sloop, and when the Boat afterwards returned for us, I refused going in her, upon which they ran the Sloop into a little Creek or Inlet that divides the Island on which the Light House stands, from the Main, and there we remained until next morning. At this place I caught 2 Black Fish 2 Silver Perch 1 Crocus and 1 *Pig Fish* which by the by, had lost its tail. Whether cut off by some prior owner as a mark I cannot say. I also shot a Couple of snipes. The rest of the party were not much more successful. Henry caught about half a Bushel of oysters, large, high relished and with little crabs in them.

The soil on New Point Island exclusive of some marshes, consists entirely of very fine white sand mounds—which, at a distance, has precisely the appearance of Ground covered with

[2] Count Vasily Lukich Dolgoruki (1672-1739) Russian diplomat who was beheaded for forging the will of Peter II.

Snow—and actually deceived some of our people when they first saw it in the morning after our arrival. The Island is owned by a Mr. Pritchet (a Roman Catholick, and whose family are the only persons of that religious sect in the whole County of Matthews as he informed us) except a few acres on which the Light House stands. Pritchet told us, that he had to pay twice over for his Land before he could get a good title to it besides the expences of a Law Suit.

He keeps a Seine, and makes a good deal of money, by the Fish he catches. He told us that he sometimes takes an hundred Barrels of Crocurs at a Draft. They are called Spots in that part of the Country. These he salts, trims and barrels up, and sells at the price of 6 and 8 Dollars a Barrel, according to the quality. The people preferring them to any other kind of Fish, and, in truth, they are very fat and nice. There are only two families on the Island. Pritchet and Johnsons. (the latter is Keeper of the Light House) and altho' their Houses are within call of each other, they have no sort of intercourse, having been, for several years, at variance, yet to strangers they are civil and friendly. On this day we discovered that the only time piece we had on board had got out of order, and was totally useless.

19th. After an early Breakfast, we sailed over to *Severn River* (8 or 9 miles from New Point) and anchored near Colº. George Lewis's House. It was the handsomest building we had seen on our passage, and his farm is extensive, but as it rained hard, I did not go on Shore. However towards Night, some of our Young Men—landed at another place, and brought an old man named Thomas Hall on Board, with about a Bushel of Oysters, for which they paid a Quarter of a Dollar, Old Hall gave me much information about the People and Country, while he remained sober—but he soon got intoxicated, and our Pilot was obliged to carry him home, after he had watered in our Cabin. . . .

20th—It blew hard this day—However old Hall came on board again and made many apologies for his drunken bout last night, declaring that the like had not happened to him for Seven years before, and never should happen again. He then undertook to show us a place at the mouth of the River, where it was almost certain that we should catch both Drums and

Sheepshead,—accordingly we went a fishing in Company with Capt.ⁿ. Lattimore of the Brig Venus bound to Key West, and Capt. *Jenny* of the Schʳ Rising Sun bound to the Island of Cuba. Some of the party who fished with small Lines, had the luck to take Six or Eight Trout and Crocuses, but we who were after great Fish, only got well soaked in a Shower of Rain, and returned Cold and uncomfortable on Board the Sea Gull, Gulls ourselves for believing one word that old Tommy Hall told us. We saw no more of him. As soon as our Young Men had Shifted their Clothes, they went on board the Venus to dine with Capt Lattimore—but as I conjectured, they intended to have a frolic. I remained on board of our own Vessel. Accordingly in the Evening they all rowed up the River to a place they called *Honey Point*, and had a fine Dance and kick up, with the old Virginia Girls. They spoke in high terms of their agility in dancing—and as to their singing, why it seemed as if every shingle on the Roof of the House, was a *Jews Harp.* Some of them stayed on shore, the whole night, verifying the old Distich "Old Virginia never tire, eat parch'd Corn and lay by the fire—"

21ˢᵗ It still continued blowing hard, with rain, so that Thirteen Sail of Sea Vessels bound out, were obliged to remain in the River; besides five larger Ships at anchor under New Point. On this day, one Jenkins came on board our Sloop, and having heard him spoken of "as a very Kind Feeder" We had the curiosity to see a specimen of his talent and asked him to take Dinner. He was helped literally to a Benjamin Mess of Pork and Pease, Cold boiled Beef, and Duck Pye—which he discussed in fine Style, washing it down with a Quart of Strong Grog, and three Quarts of Cider—yet he remained quite Sober. It seemed too that he had just before taken a damper on Board some of the other Vessels, that he had been visiting.

We received an invitation to drink tea with a Mʳ. Carey Jones; a Gentleman of the Law, and a considerable Land owner residing at the Mouth of Severn. John Ridout and myself accepted the invitation, and found Mʳ. Jones and his Lady, very polite People. They asked us to remain at their house all night, but we declined it. Mʳ. Jones is an Advocate for Mʳ. Crawford as President—But his Father an old Revolutionary Officer, whom they call

Major, is a warm Jacksonite. He was on a visit to his Son and as the term of his visit had expired, asked us to give him a passage in our Sloop to *Old Point Comfort*, now called *Fortress Monroe* which is not far distant from Hampton, his place of residence. The Major told us that he was in his 76th year, that he was present at both the Seiges of Savannah, and had been wounded each time. He appears to be a very singular old Fellow, but carries his age well not looking to be more than Sixty. Our Young Men paid another Visit this evening to Honey Point, but did not stay very late. Perhaps they began to find Bee Bread mixed with the Honey, which rendered it a little Bitter. If so, they kept it to themselves. However they managed to leave half a dollar due for some kind of Liquor, to one Kimble, a Tall, thin, gawky looking man, a sort of man that Tom Moss swore he could make a better looking one out of a Clap board.

22nd Just after sun rise in company with the whole Fleet, we set sail and had an agreeable run to within a couple of miles of Old Point. The old Major was very entertaining, and told us many odd tales, and incidents, that had befallen him in his youthful days. I did not, however give implicit credit to all he said, for I could't help suspecting that he sometimes spun a tough yarn.

We anchored near the Beach about two miles above Old Point and went on shore, where there were Three Seine Hauling Establishmnts. Saw the Seine hauled and purchased some Fish on very reasonable terms. We bought three fine mackeral for 12½ cents four large Trout for 18¾ cents and other fish at similar rates. Captain Sheldon, the Owner of one of the Seins, made us a present of a couple of fine Taylors, as many crabs, as we chose to take. Their mode of Hauling the Seine is different from ours, only one rope is required, as one end of the Net is fastened to the Shore, the other is carried straight out and there anchored, for an hour or two when it is drawn in so as to meet the Tide whether Flood or Ebb, and abundance of Fish are taken. The kinds I saw were Trout, Mackerel, Taylors, Flounders, Rocks, Crocuses, Pig Fish and Porgies—Black Fish, Silver Perch and Ale Wives—But I did not see any White or Yellow Perch, such as are common up the Bay and I only met with one Virginia *Sun Fish* which they said, was a small one, but which was five times larger than any of what are called Sun Fish in Maryland, but in fact, they are different sort

of Fish. The Virginia Sun Fish is very highly esteemed, I also saw a *Moon Fish* which is very white and shining, but I believe, is unfit to be eaten. Our *Diamond Fish* are very common in the vicinity of the Capes, but they are known by a different name, which has escaped my memory.

After satisfying our curiosity, respecting Seine Hawling, we walked into the Town at Old Point, and for several hours viewed the Fortifications and other Military works now erecting on a grand scale.[3] Considering the short space of time since their commencement, it is surprizing what progress has been made in covering a large space of barren Land Mounds (now almost levelled) with extensive Barricks, Forts, Magazines, Handsome dwellings Houses &c. besides a Canal dug nearly round Fortress Monroe. There are about Two Thousand Persons of all descriptions in the place amongst whom are three or four hundred United States Soldiers employed on Fatigue duty. Great Exactness and regularity are observed as to the hours of their work, and they march in double file, to and from the place of their employment to their dieting places at meal times. And at night all their tools are carefully deposited in proper places for them just as their muskets are. We observed some of them with *Iron Collars* round their necks, and a chain and Ball fastened to one Leg. It was not an agreeable sight—but it is rendered necessary as a punishment for desertion. We had a good deal of conversation with one of the Soldiers at the Barracks and found them well satisfied with their situation. They are well fed, well clothed, and comfortably lodged. They seemed pleased in shewing us their accommodations. Everything in the Barracks, especially the cooking apartments bore the marks of extreme cleanness; while walking down the Main Street, two Sentinels passed us, with a Soldier under guard, who from the Blood on his face, seemed to have been fighting. Soon afterwards we met a clean dressed fresh shaven man, and asked him what would be done with the Person under guard " Put into the Black Hole, Gentlemen from whence, I have just come myself " Are there any Moschettors there? asked one of our Company. " Lord love your Soul, Sir answered the man, the Moschettors in the Black Hole, are as big as *Wild Geese* " So saying he bowed and passed on. We thought the man had been

[3] Construction on Fortress Monroe was commenced by the Federal Government in 1819 and was not completed until 1834.

quizzing us, but a negro man informed us, that the Person, we had been talking with, was one of the musicians of the Band belonging to the Fortress, and was pretty regularly once or twice a week, sent to the *Black Hole*, for getting Drunk—but that his services were so necessary, as to make his confinement last only until he became sobered. Having drank a little good Punch and seen all that was worth looking at in the Town, and Fortress, we returned to our Vessel and set Sail for York River—but the wind rose again with so strong an Ebb tide and heavy Sea that we were compelled to turn Poop to it, and run round the Point, and come to, at one of the wharves, where we found Eighty or Ninety Sail of Bay Craft laying—most of them employed in delivering Stone at Old Point, and the *Rip Raps* (now called Fort Calhoun) distanct about two miles. They do not permit any Vessel to remain at night, at the *Rip Raps* for fear of their cheating Government, by taking in Stone at night, which they have been delivering during the Day. I suppose some such Yankee or *John Quincy Adams* tricks have heretofore been played off by which the United States have been made to pay twice for the same article—And God knows, by the time the works are finished *once* paying will come to some millions of dollars. However when the Defences are once completed no Enemys Fleet will be able to Shelter in Hampton Roads— while to our own ships it will prove a perfect Harbour of safety.

23rd The first thing that aroused us from Sleep this morning about Day break was the yelling and screaming of a little Urchin of a Cabin Boy on board a large Schooner close by us. The Mate, (one Mr Thomas) was giving him the Rope's End to some purpose and the poor Boy jumping and hopping about the Deck, like a Pea in an oven. We thought the flogging double of what any little offence could deserve, and pitied the Boy very much. However in half an hour afterwards he went to cooking Breakfast and soon began singing and Dancing, as if nothing out of the common routine of business had happened to him. And such, I dare say, was the case. There is no telling, what use or habit will enable people to bear—If it causes *Irishmen* to bear hanging so well, why not have the same effect as to a sound drubbing on the Back of a Sailor Boy?

Soon after Sunrise, I went to the Market House, but did not see much Butchers Meat—There were plenty of Fish, Sweet

Potatoes, Apples, Chinquapins and Cabbages &c. The Hucksters too keep tables, and sell cakes, Pies, Sausages &c. We bought 2 Bushels of Oysters—at 25 cents per Bushel, which was the uniform price wherever we enquired for them. The wind still continuing adverse to our return homeward, we determined to visit *Norfolk* and arrived there between 10 and 11 o'clock. I believe Norfolk is about 18 or 20 miles distant from Old Point. It lies on *Elizabeth River.*

John Ridout, our Pilot and myself soon went on shore, and traversed the principal Streets. They are narrow, crooked and dirty. I should suppose the Town to be about *Three times* the size of Annapolis. There are some very handsome private houses, but too much interspersed amongst mean looking framed Buildings, and almost every Quarter of the Town, exhibits the melancholy spectacle of Houses having been destroyed by fire[4]—The ruins still remain and void spaces appear very frequently in the rows. It did not appear, that many new Houses were building in place of those that have been burnt. The Public Edifices are not remarkable. It seems that the course of Trade which once flowed into Norfolk has taken a different Channel up James River; and Norfolk would decline more rapidly still, were it not upheld in some degree by the Naval Establishments at Portsmouth and Gosport, on the opposite side of the River. A merchant ship had lately arrived at Norfolk from France, laden with Wine and Silks, but could not dispose of her Cargo, and had proceeded up to City Point, near Richmond, and if disappointed in a market there, meant to return and proceed up the Bay to Baltimore. At Portsmouth we saw the United States Ship North Carolina of 74 Guns, fitting up for a Cruize. She is a noble Vessel. The Hospital at Gosport is a splendid structure, indeed all the public structures are grand and worthy of a great nation. This evening our Pilot and myself drank Tea with a M[r]. Freeman, a very respectable Cabinet Maker, who is in good business, and executes elegant work in his line, our Young men went to an Oyster House, where they met with good fare at 50 cents a head. During the night, I was first disturbed by our man Jerry, who got Drunk and made a

[4] On March 25, 1814, a fire destroyed the market-house and surrounding tenements. On February 2, 1823, a fire took place on the west side of Market Square and a year later a fire on Main Street destroyed the old court-house and jail buildings, being used as shops and dwellings, at the head of Market Square.

great noise, and was afterwards kept awake by the sounds of Fiddling and Dancing in several Places, till a very late hour—and also by the practising of a Band of Musick, who were as we were told, perfecting themselves, against the Review at York Town on the 19th of October, in honour of General Lafayette.

24th—Went to Market—Perhaps few markets are better supplied with Fish—But the Butcher's meat was not good, and yet very dear. It is said that later in the season, very fine Beef and mutton are carried to Norfolk from a considerable distance—Baltimore for instance—but at the time we were there the Beef was very indifferent. Poultry in plenty—good and cheap. I bought some Sausages, and John Ridout purchased a few pounds of Beef Steaks. Upon the whole, I think Norfolk must be an unpleasant place to live in. It is low, dirty, dissipated and swarms with Dogs, Moschettoes and negroes. However, I find, the Constables keep this latter nuisance pretty well under. They are less insolent than those in Baltimore, tho' more numerous in relation to the size of the two places. No night Dancings or other meetings are tolerated, as Mr. Freeman informed me.

After Breakfast we started for Old Point once more, passing by *Craney Island*, which seemed a much more pleasant place, than it's name would lead one to conjecture. There are a few Buildings upon the Island which make a neat appearance from the water, but to what use they are applied I did not learn, probably they are Lazarettoes. About noon we reached Old Point, and attempted to run up the Bay, but were once more obliged to return by the wind being too adverse. We then ran up to *Hampton* landed and walked over the Town, which was soon accomplished, it being but a small place and not likely speedily to increase. It is, however the County Town, and contains the *Court House*, *Jail* &c.—and some Pilot Boats are occasionally built in it. The water is the best in all the Region round about it for many miles. The Boats of a French Squadron consisting of the *Eylan* of 90 guns a Frigate and a Corvette, riding in the Roads were taking in their water at the time we were in the Town. We here once more fell in with our old Major Jones, who escorted us about the Town, and invited us to drink some *Brandy* and water. There are two Taverns in the Town, one of them at the Water's edge, and kept by *Major General Pryor* of the Virginia Militia—and to judge by externals

for we did not enter it, a very indifferent House of entertainment it must be, notwithstanding the high sounding Title of its Landlord. But every thing showed high in the *Ancient Dominion*, except *Hoe*-Cake and *Homney*, and bless our stars, we saw or heard little of them. The most melancholy object that met our sight in Hampton was the ruin of a Brick Church. It was formerly a large and splendid Fabrick, surrounded by a Brick Wall inclosing the Burying Ground, but nothing now remains, except the Bare Walls and decayed Roof. Horses, Cattle, Sheep and Hogs make it their common shelter, and feed unmolested amidst Tomb Stones and obelisks. In a few more years, it is likely that any Descendant of persons buryed there, who may wish to read the Inscriptions on the Tombs of his ancestors will have to search for them among the Hearth Stones in the Town of Hampton or its environs. The valuable Glebe Land that was given, in the olden time by pious beneficence, for the support of a Minister of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour has been sold according to Law (encouraged and sanctioned, if not first proposed by M^{r} Jefferson) and the Money turned into a *Free School Fund*—where it may be, some infidel Foreigner put *Pains Age of Reason*, into the hands of his Pupils, instead of the New Testament. One circumstance surprised me very much. Our old Major told us that his wife and two or three of his Children were buried in the Church Yard—and he seemed no ways concerned at the unseemly sight of Hogs rooting the Turf from off the Graves. No doubt he had seen it a thousand times and use has habituated him to it. Having finished our Survey of Hampton we descended the Creek on which it stands, to the Roads and fell in with a Couple of Negro Men from whom we purchased some very good Oysters. One of the men was an Intelligent Fellow. I asked him several questions respecting the outrages said to have been perpetrated by the British, when they took possession of Hampton. He said he was a Shoemaker by Trade and was working in Town, when the Enemy landed, and that he remained in it during the whole time, that the British kept possession—that only *one Woman* was violated, who was a decent tho' poor widow, and that was done by Frenchman. That as soon as the fact came to the knowledge of the Commander in Chief—, he ordered every Frenchman back to the Ships, when they, who had committed the enormity, were severely punished. The negro further told us, that one half of the plundering

was not done by the British. It was true, he said, that they took from the Stores whatever they wanted—but they did not personally illtreat the inhabitants, and when they left the place, the Militia who came from the upper part of the Country, together with the Coloured People, pillaged more than the British had done. This was previous to the return of those Inhabitants who had fled from their houses on the approach of the Enemy. He also related to us this Anecdote—A wild dissipated Young man (I think he called him Painter) said to him a few days before, that he wished the British would land and either let him put a Bullet through some of their darnn'd Hearts, or they put one through his, for he was tired of waiting for them, that when the British did land and fire on the Militia, the only man who fell was *Painter.* This he solemnly assured us was an absolute fact.

We found on enquiry at all the places we stopped at, that no Tobacco is cultivated immediately on the Bay in Virginia. The principal articles of Culture are Wheat, Barley, Indian Corn, Sweet Potatoes and Cotton. The Crops have been pretty good this season. Corn can be had for 125 cents per barrel. Sweet Potatoes from 37½ to 50 cents a Bushel. Wheat and Barley are sent to Baltimore and Richmond and some to New York. The Cotton is Chiefly manufactured at Home for domestic use—At Col°. Lewis's on Severn River, we saw a large lot set thick with Jerusalem Artichokes in full bloom which his neighbour M^r^ Jones, told us, were permanent; that once a year, just before it was time to put up Hogs to fatten, the Col°. turned his into this lot and kept them there until he supposed they had eaten up the fruit, at least the large ones. He then removed them, much improved into his Pens and fed them with Corn. The small artichoke Roots left by the Hogs, come up and produce the next year as many as before. But no hog is suffered to run in the Lot during the intermediate time.

The Country generally appears to be thickly inhabited, and the People healthy, though not inclined to be corpulent. I met with none that I could call really fat. They live much on Fish and other aquatic productions. There are many Wild Geese and Ducks in Winter, but no Swans below the mouth of Potomac. We were told of a man who a few Winters ago, went out a Duck Shooting *in the Night* near the mouth of Back River (on this side of Old Point) without a water dog—every time he shot, he waded in for

his Ducks, and was found next morning frozen to Death on the Beach, with forty two Brace of Ducks lying by him.

Moschettoes abound every where down the Bay, but the People complain very little about them. John Ridout, on one occasion got his throat full of them and coughed lustily.

In the market at Norfolk, we saw a Horse Cart loaded and another half loaded with *Prawn.* They sell at 3 and 4 cents a quart. I enquired how they were caught, and was informed that it was done by stretching Straw or Marsh Grass mattlings across the mouths of Coves at high water, and when the Tide was out, they picked them up, the Hedging having intercepted their retreat.

25th Having reached Old Point once more in the course of last night, from Hampton, we sailed early this morning on our way home, having relinquished the plan of visiting York Town— Though we heard much of the preparations making there for the reception of General La Fayette, and felt great curiosity to see the *far famed* Cave of Lord Cornwallis. Apropos, I learned a Negro Pun, about this commander, that was not so bad. It seems that after his surrender, Cornwallis was riding out, and one Negro, who knew his person, pointed him out to another, and said "There goes *Cornwallis,*" no, replied the other, he no name *Cornwallis* he name *Cob Wallis,* for General Washington done shell all his Corn off and left only the Cob"

We had a light wind, tolerably fair as far as the *Egg Islands* (a Group or Cluster of little Sandy Islets, sometimes overflowed, on which they say, the Sea Gulls, Pill Willets, Snipes and such kind of Birds breed in great numbers,) when it fell calm and we cast anchor. John Gibson, our Pilot, John Ridout and myself went on Shore to Shoot, but met with no Game, it not being the right season. There is a smell of lymblin or Gourd growing amongst the old sea wave, heretofore cast up, in such numbers, that a vessel might be laden with them, if they were of value. They resemble what in Maryland are called *May Gourds.* We picked up about 150 Clams, and I was surprised, at their position in the sand under the water. I always supposed that like oysters, their mouths were out of the sand, and the thick part, where the hinge is, downwards, but exactly the reverse is the fact.

We now returned to our Sloop, and as soon as the Flood Tide made, weighed Anchor, for New Point. Wind very light, and not

fair. However as the Tide flowed at the rate of 5 or 6 Knots an hour, what with it and sweeping with four little oars, we reached New Point, in the course of the Night, our Pilot and Mate having enlivened us by singing a number of Songs, some Sea, some amatory, and others burlesque.

26th Some of our Party landed at the Point for the purpose of getting a supply of water. It is none of the best for the well is only a hole 5 or 6 feet deep, dug in the sand. They went up to our Acquaintance Pritchets, and found his Daughter sick with a Bilious Fever. Her mother applied to them for some whiskey, to *steep her with*, but as that article was getting scarce on board our vessel, her want could not be supplied. But John Ridout, who took the Physician upon himself, gave her a powerful dose of Calomel and Jalap, and left another of the same medicine to be given next day—which, I dare say, after its operation left the Patients bowels as clean as a *Flute*. We now left New Point, and about 9 o'clock at night, came close to the *Light Boat* floating on *Wind Mill* Point, at the mouth of the Rappahannock River, having been becalmed, a great part of the day, and drifted over to the Eastern Shore Virginia. We now determined to make harbour for the night, and had just got into the mouth of the River (having gone 8 or 10 miles out of our direct course) when a Strong Easterly Wind arose, and as John Ridout was extremely anxious to get home on account of a Battalion Meeting, that was to take place on the 29th. instant, we proceeded on, and at Sun rise the next morning were directly opposite the mouth of Patuxent River.

27th—At Sun Rise this morning, the wind slackened, and by the time we reached Sharps Island it was quite calm, with an Ebb Tide, which drifted us considerably down the Bay, to our great Mortification. I had a smart touch of the Ague and Fever and lay in my berth for several hours. However, about night fall, both wind and tide became more favourable, and about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 28th to our Joy and not to our Sorrow, we cast anchor at *Crabbing Point*, the place we first started from, and felt more *Comfort* than at all the other Points or Places, we had touched at, in the course of our voyage—

And now let us consider how the account of Pleasure and pain stands, for our Voyage was in search of Pleasure.

1st. There was some Pleasure in Sailing while the wind was fair and moderate, but the Pain was greater, when it blew a storm in the night, and was dead calm in the Day, or when it blew hard and rained at the same time.

2nd. I got acquainted with many Towns, Rivers, Points and other Places, that I never expected to see, but then I lost my rest, and was well bitten by the Moschettoes.

3rd.—I eat some excellent Fish, and a few very fine oysters, but then I had *to pay* for them, when by staying at home I might have had them (though not quite so good) merely for the catching.

4th.—During 12 Days, I caught *only six* small Fish. At home I might have taken more Dozens, and I also shot two Snipes on New Point—At Sandy Point close to home, I could have shot Twenty, having often done it.

5th.—I drank Tea with two agreeable Families with whom I became acquainted. True, that was some pleasure; but it was diminished by the thoughts and anxiety about my own family, from whom I was so far seperated.

6th.—I caught the Ague & Fever, have had two slight, and one hearty shake of it, which has obliged me to take *Physick* a thing I never could find pleasure in.

But it may be said, I went chiefly in quest of Drums and Sheepheads, and that peradventure, I met with plenty of them. All the *Drums* I saw, were the *Military Ones* at Old Point and Norfolk, and all the *Sheepsheads* were those, which we carried *on our own Shoulders.*

Truly speaketh the old proverb " Many go abroad seeking wool, and come home, shorn themselves."

Thus ends my first and *last* voyage to the Capes of Old Virginia. Heaven Help her! I am no Columbus or Sir Walter Rawleigh, and never shall be, that is certain.

SIDELIGHTS

TREASON ON THE SASSAFRAS

ELIZABETH CONNOR

Sunday, July 11, 1686, was a warm day on the Eastern Shore, pleasant for sitting out of doors, waiting for any breeze that might be wafted in from Chesapeake Bay. This day was also almost exactly the first anniversary of the disastrous battle of Sedgemoor and the capture of the Duke of Monmouth and his beheading in the Tower of London. Perhaps Giles Porter, Francis Child, Ralph Chiffem, and Philip Bergen remembered the significance of the day; perhaps it was only by chance that they gathered early at Philip Bergen's house on Turney's Creek, a deep inlet on the south side of Sassafras River, at that time a part of Cecil County.

" A little before the door " of " a kind of kitchen," Philip Bergen and his companions sat " round about a table with a Bowl of Punch." In the kitchen, on a bed, lay another young man, Peter Dermott, a planter, about twenty-six years old, who " by a mischance " had a " sore legg " and was " in a very bad condition." Although he could not " goe upon his feet," [1] he could hear, and he found the conversation of the other young men exceedingly interesting.

Because he was " very weak," more than the statutory fifteen days passed before Peter Dermott could appear before Mr. Nicholas Allom, a justice of the peace for Cecil County, to complain about the talk he had heard. The accusation seemed so important, however, that Mr. Allom immediately issued a warrant to " apprehend " the four young men and " have them " before his Lordship's Commissioners for " libellous and scandelous words spoken against our Soveraign Lord King James the Second." [2]

When the Cecil County court met on August 10th, the commissioners, William Dare, Richard Pullen, Nicholas Allom, Edward Blay, Gideon Gundry, Edward Jones, George Warner, and James Wroth, were all present. At the appointed hour the sheriff called Porter, Bergen, Child, and Chiffem into the court room, but, strange to say, no Peter Dermott was there to prosecute although earlier in the day he had been seen about the court house. Finally the jury could wait no longer; they wrote on the back of the indictment " Ignoramus for want of evidence " and were about to clear the four young men " by Proclamation " when Com-

[1] *Archives of Maryland*, V, 507, 509.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

missioner Dare "withstood."[3] Then the sheriff and constables made "diligent Search" for the missing Peter. At last Thomas Yerbury, Constable of Bohemia Hundred, found him not far from the court house "behind a shady bush," where, Peter said, he had been sleeping. Haled before the court, Peter "gave in" his testimony, entitled in the records "A Memorandum of High Treason spoken against the late [sic] King James."[4]

In his deposition Peter Dermott related that when he was in the kitchen at Philip Bergen's on the 11th of July and the four young men were sitting before the door, they began discoursing about the Duke of Monmouth. He was, they were sure, still alive, and they "swore damm them but they would drink [his] health." Then Giles Porter "rising up said he would drink the Duke of Monmouth's health for York [James II] hath been a Bloody Rogue for he hath poisoned his Brother the late King Charles and began the first Invention of the burning of London." On the truth of his testimony Peter avowed he could take his oath "before God and the world to all well disposed Magistrates & good Christians" and bound himself to Lord Baltimore in the sum of fifty pounds sterling to prosecute Porter and his friends.[5]

For some unexplained reason the trial was not held in Cecil County in November as ordered, but was transferred to the City of St. Mary's, still in 1686 the capital of the Province, where the provincial council met on September 8th with Colonel Henry Darnall, Colonel William Digges, Major Nicholas Sewell and Mr. Clement Hill presiding. At this meeting Peter Dermott was on hand to give his information, much dissatisfied by now with the action of the Cecil County commissioners, who "had took bayle for the appearance of the said 4 persons at the nexte County Court" and let them go.[6] After Peter's deposition, the justices commanded the sheriff of Cecil County to bring Porter, Bergen, Chiffem, and Child to St. Mary's City. In the meantime, since Peter Dermott was "a poor man and obliged to attend here until the return of the Sheriff," Thomas Beale of St. Mary's was ordered to give him "reasonable entertainment for dyett and lodging."[7]

By September 16, the sheriff had returned with the accused men, and the proceedings began. Peter once more gave his deposition, which this time differed from his earlier statements in an important amplification: when Giles Porter had declared "he would drink the Duke of Monmouth's health for York had been a bloody rogue," Philip Bergen had cried, "Hold your tongue for you speak treason," and Giles Porter had replied, "I knew I did speak treason."[8]

After hearing this additional evidence, the council decided that only Giles Porter was guilty of speaking treason against His Majesty although the others should be brought in as evidence against him.

Ralph Chiffem was called first. "After much obstinacy and refusall"

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 507-508.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 509.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 509.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 490.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 491.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

Thus ended a promising, or threatening, case involving freedom of speech and treason in the young colony.

AN OLD LETTER AND AN EPITAPH

J. A. Campbell Colston

Not long ago it was my good fortune to find in an old scrapbook a letter written by my uncle, William E. Colston. Uncle Willie was born in Washington, March 24, 1839, but his early years were spent in Virginia. He and my father, Frederick Morgan Colston (1835-1922), grew up at Locust Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia. The Colston family moved to Washington in 1847, and in 1853 my father came to Baltimore seeking employment. Uncle Willie followed in 1857. My father entered the Ordnance Department of the Confederate States when the Civil War began and served with distinction in General Alexander's Battalion of Artillery until the surrender at Appomattox Court House. Uncle Willie on June 1, 1861, joined Company B, Maryland Guard, attached to the 21st Virginia Infantry. Goldsborough says that this Company was one of the finest to enter the Confederate service from Maryland and that it " was certainly one of the best drilled companies in the Army of Virginia, and General Lee upon two occasions stated that it was the best drilled infantry company he ever saw, not excepting the regulars." [1] Uncle Willie's letter to my father was written just a few days after joining Company B.

Barracks Balto. Batt[a]l[io]n,
Dear Fred, Suffolk, Va. June 4, '61

I have joined J. L.C'S [2] Company temporarily. Ive not yet regularly enlisted, but expect to do so shortly in a Co about to be formed with W H Murray as Capt. The members of Clarkes Co are almost without exception gentlemen, & most of them are my acquaintances. We have comfortable quarters in the C[ourt]. H[ouse] and the life as yet is not nearly so hard as I expected to find it. I hear though, that we are now living better than customary. The great difficulty with us is about our Commndg officer. A drunken fellow fellow [sic] from Balto. named Thomas,[3] who was our Col. has just been gotten rid of, and I believe that we are now under Hugers [4] orders, who is at Norfolk. I heard this morning a report of a fight at Newport News, but do not know the extent or particulars. There are rumors of our being sent from here to Richmond and from there to Northern Va. but our Capts can tell nothing about it.

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[1] W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army*, 1861-1865 (Baltimore, 1900), p. 160.

[2] J. Lyle Clarke, Captain of Company B. [3] Unidentified.

[4] General Benjamin Huger (1805-1877), in command of the Department of Norfolk.

We have here about 170 men, under Dorsey & C.[5] two companies.

I am very well in health and spirits and certainly as yet do not regret having come. A large majority of the men of my company are quiet, orderly fellows, drunkenness and insubordination extremely rare. The men are all pretty well except Curzin Hoffman who has been sick but is today much better.

I came from Richmond with Capt Ben Anderson who has command of a Ky Company in the 1st La. Regt stationed near Portsmouth, he is looking very well and sends regards to those at home. I send this by private conveyance & would like you to send by anyone coming to Va a letter from home, it might be posted in any office in Va and directed to me in Clarke's care, Suffolk, it may be that we will be here for some time yet.

We are very near the Nansemond river and although the boys complain of the town very much, still I think we might have it much worse.

Among those here well known to you, are Dick Barnes, Geo Gibson, Frank Foss, Wilson[,] Symington, Bob Lemmon, Jas Close, H & P Dugan[,] Hudson Snowden[,] Harry Sullivan & a host of others too numerous to mention.[6]

My musket being the only one brought from Balto that I know of is still an object of attention Our Co is armed with flintlock altered to percussion

Best love to all,
W. E. C.

When the first Maryland Regiment was formed, Uncle Willie was transferred to Company H of Captain William H. Murray, June 18, 1861. In this Company he served in all the campaigns and battles of the Regiment until at the Battle of Cross Keys in Jackson's Valley Campaign, June 8, 1862, he was severely wounded in the thigh. After a long convalescence, no longer fit for infantry service but able to ride, he was appointed Volunteer Aide to Major General Trimble. When Trimble was wounded at Gettysburg, Colston volunteered into Mosby's Command. The following account from the Baltimore *Sun* describes his last encounter in defense of the Confederacy and serves as an epitaph.

From the Shenandoah Valley

Camp on Loudoun Heights, Loudoun County, Va. Jan. 10, 1864. Our new camp on Loudoun Heights was, just before the early dawn this morning, baptized in blood. Precisely at half-past four o'clock this morning, Moseby's rebel battalion, himself in person at their head, avoiding

[5] Captain E. R. Dorsey and J. L. Clarke.

[6] Sergeant Richard M. Barnes, First Sergeant George C. Gibson, Corporal Robert Lemmon, Privates Wilson C. N. Carr, William H. Symington (or Second Lieutenant W. Stuart Symington?), James Close, Hammond Dugan, Pierre C. Dugan, J. H. Snowden and John H. Sullivan are listed by Goldsborough, *op. cit.*, on the roster of Company B, but Frank Foss is not mentioned.

our pickets on the roads, crossed the fields and dashed into our camp with a fiend-like yell. They poured a volley of bullets into the tents where our officers and men lay sleeping, wounding many at the first fire. Many of the tents of officers and men were soon surrounded by mounted and dismounted cavalry, and a demand for instant and unconditional surrender made.

This demand was answered by a shout of defiance from our boys, as they rushed from their tents, half naked, in the midst of their assailants, and with their trusty carbines and revolvers drove back the astonished rebels, who had promised themselves an easy victory over the " sleeping Yankees." The rebels rallied and so did our men, as best they could, and a " rough and tumble " fight of fifteen minutes ensued, when Moseby sung out, " Retreat, boys; they are too many for us! " And the discomfited Major and his midnight assassins made a precipitate flight in the direction of Hillsborough. The rebels fought with the most desperate vindictiveness, which was only equalled by the coolness and undaunted valor of our gallant boys, who fought, I will venture to say, as scarcely ever men fought before, partially surprised, as indeed they were. To show the *animus* of the rebels I will here state a fact which, as a faithful chronicler of events, it pains me to record.

Corporal Henry C. Tritch and others, of Captain Frank Gallagher's company, declare that at the first assault of the rebels Captain William R. Smith cried out to his men, " Give the damned yankees no quarter, but secure the arms and horses." " Horses " was the last word he ever uttered, for at that instant a yankee bullet went whizzing through his heart, and he fell lifeless from the saddle. His dead body now lies in its white winding-sheet of snow in the spot where it fell, a few feet from the tent in which I write. A few yards from Captain Smith lies cold in death, in a pool of his own now frozen blood, the body of Lieut. Cols[t]on, of Baltimore, and one of General Trimble's rebel staff, as will appear from the following pass found upon his person.

" *Culpeper Court-House*, July 27, 1863. Guards and pickets will pass Lieut. Cols[t]on, Major General Trimble's staff, in and out at pleasure. By order of Gen. R. E. Lee

" H. B. Bridg, commanding, major and provost marshal, Army Northern Virginia."

A photograph of a beautiful young lady was also found written in pencil—" For brother Willie, from Florence." . . .

After the war my father brought Uncle Willie's body back to Baltimore where he is buried in the Confederate Cemetery at Loudon Park with his old comrades of Company H. Father also furnished the William E. Colston Room at the Maryland Line Confederate Soldiers' Home. Uncle Willie's all too brief journey in this world might be briefly summarized, from Loudoun County to Loudoun Heights to Loudon Cemetery.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

David Crockett: the Man and the Legend. By JAMES ATKINS SHACKFORD, edited by JOHN B. SHACKFORD. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 352 pp. $6.

Although David Crockett and Andrew Jackson were contemporaries, each represented a different era in American history. Equalitarian in politics and crude in manners, at least by Eastern standards, Jackson, nevertheless, had studied law, was a judge, and became one of the landed gentry of middle Tennessee. As the leader of the western agrarians, he represented a rising political power, organized, formidable, and ambitious. Crockett, on the other hand, was the last representative of the old frontier, colorful and picturesque, and living beyond his time. The East found him grotesque, even useful; but it never had any occasion to fear him. The author of *David Crockett: the Man and the Legend* reveals what should be accepted as the authentic Crockett. The sheer integrity of the research and writing, despite occasional moralizations and a few pious, but futile, attempts to force Crockett into the heroic mold, confirms Parrington's statement about the frontier: "Romantic in spirit and scope, it was meanly picaresque in a thousand unlovely details."

Three aspects of Crockett's political career stand out in this biography: his enduring interest in the West Tennessee lands; his consuming hatred of Andrew Jackson; and his own undoubted complicity in the Whig plot to make him a national hero. When Crockett first entered Congress John Quincy Adams was President. One of the issues before the national legislature was the Vacant Land Bill. On April 18, 1806, Congress had authorized the State of Tennessee to locate and to satisfy the North Carolina land warrants, stipulating that out of every six square miles, 640 acres should be appropriated by the State for the use of common schools. These warrants proved to be so numerous that they could not be satisfied from the lands east of the Congressional Reservation Line, and the western Tennessee lands were levied on. Crockett had no interest in any of these lands being used for educational purposes. However, he supported the bill along with the Jackson forces, apparently because he expected the state to sell the lands cheaply. The next year, in open defiance of the Jackson organization, he offered an amendment to the land bill, proposing that the West Tennessee lands be given outright to the people living on them, for, according to his political philosophy "The rich require but little legislation. We should, at least occasionally, legislate for the poor." In 1833, during his last term in Congress, he was

still advocating the cause of the poor settlers in the West. The cynic may hasten to point out that they were Crockett's constituents, but there seems to be little doubt about the sincerity of his expressed opinions on this matter.

In the words of Charles and Mary Beard, Crockett turned against Jackson "for reasons difficult to fathom." But there were reasons, some honorable, some not. First, it should be noted that there was a real cleavage of interest between the landed gentry of middle Tennessee whom Jackson represented and the poor squatters on the tangled cane lands in Crockett's district. Then there is evidence that Crockett, always impecunious, had borrowed money from the National Bank, one of the victims of Jackson's wrath; and Nicholas Biddle was not one to overlook an opportunity to gain another vote for the Bank. And, finally, there was the not uncommon phenomenon of deposed powers—in this instance the Whigs—to exploit a colorful, but harmless, figure in their efforts to regain control of the government.

In the matter of internal improvements Crockett voted for the Maysville Road Bill, which Jackson vetoed; and he voted to override the veto. "I shall insist upon it that I am still a Jackson man in principles, but General Jackson is not" he declared in the anonymous *Life* of 1833. For his hatred of Jackson, Crockett paid heavily. In 1831 he was defeated by the Jackson forces; and he was re-elected in 1833 only to suffer defeat by a Jackson man in 1835.

It is one of those frequent ironies of history that the most ignominious aspect of Crockett's political career won for him a place in the pantheon of American heroes. The author attempts to exonerate Crockett of any complicity in the Whig campaign to fight "Old Hickory" with a coonskin hero; but the Crockett who crops out here bears a marked similarity to the vain, loquacious, foolish one of Parrington. Furthermore, the author is somewhat inconsistent in his defense: in one place he portrays Crockett as a simple man exploited—"morally it was less to David's discredit than to the everlasting shame of those who knowingly and cynically used this simple man for their own selfish purposes"; but, elsewhere, he leaves the impression that Crockett knew what he was doing—"David's alliance with the Whigs must be seen in terms of his efforts in behalf of his land bill . . . and not merely in terms of a stupid, loquacious fool desiring public attention."

After the re-election of Jackson in 1832 the Whigs became desperate for a candidate, and as the Jackson forces began to build up Martin Van Buren, they began to look around for a candidate, almost any candidate who could win. While it remains incredible that they would have accepted Crockett, they certainly attempted to build him up in the popular imagination. The "Touar [Tour] Through the Eastern States" represents a spectacle rarely seen in American politics. From Baltimore to Boston and back, the beaming, illiterate Crockett, warming up under the pretended friendship of the Lawrences, the Du Ponts, and the Biddles, and responding to the adulation of the crowds, peddled his backwoodswares; and he earnestly asserted that no man was his master.

After his defeat for Congress in 1835, Crockett set out for Texas and obliged the myth makers by getting killed at the Alamo. Moreover, the exact circumstances of his death are unknown, leaving room for the legend. The author refrains nobly from attempting to complete this biography without the facts, and he shows all the impatience of his scholarly craft for the popular legend of this folk-hero. However, he is realistic enough not to write its obituary.

This life of David Crockett is based on authentic materials, which have been obtained through prodigious research. The facts are honestly presented, but when they do not confirm the thesis that Crockett's political behavior can be explained by his sincere interest in the poor settlers' lands, a deus ex machina frequently appears in the form of a moralizing paragraph. Also, there are analogies that are greatly strained: "Here then is Crockett: symbol both of the pioneer of that old world of physical frontiers, just ended; and of the pioneer of the new spiritual frontier just beginning, attacking those barriers of that separate man from his fellows and that threaten to make of his world a Buchenwald." Unfortunately the writing in the narrative proper is often strange, graceless and awkward, a fact that may be accounted for by the author's illness. However, the presentation of the technical scholarship in the important appendices is adequate, and the whole is vivid and interesting. Whatever its aesthetic deficiencies and despite the grotesqueries of both the subject and style this biography is important in two respects: it increases our confidence in the historical appraisal of Crockett, and it represents a type of research that, if pursued, will add substantially to our knowledge of American history.

JOHN WALTON

The Johns Hopkins University

Ben Franklin's Privateers. By WILLIAM BELL CLARK. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. vii, 198 pp. $3.75.

Here is a fascinating little book on a facet of American Revolutionary history that has been frequently ignored and certainly misinterpreted. The author, William Bell Clark, is to be congratulated on a piece of good writing and particularly diligent research. The net result is a new insight into the labors of Benjamin Franklin, Minister Plenipotentiary to France during the struggle for independence.

The best biography of Franklin is still Carl Van Doren's, and it may not be superseded until long after the grand publishing plan of Yale University is consummated. Certainly a complete and accessible record of Franklin's papers will enormously enhance the prospects for a more accurate and detailed study of the great man of the eighteenth century. Equally certain is it that studies such as William Bell Clark's will also vitally contribute to the enlightenment of some future courageous biographer.

The subject of Franklin's privateers necessarily received scant space in Carl Van Doren's treatment of Franklin's life. According to Van Doren, Franklin did indeed commission privateers "which used French ports as their base for raids against British ships." He also served as judge in deciding on the fate of prizes returned by these privateers, and, adds Van Doren, "This he found troublesome and exhausting, in part because he disapproved of the whole system." There is nothing really wrong with these brief comments, apart from their inadequacy, and erroneous suggestion. For Franklin's privateering activity was exhausting and demanding from the constant official documents to be attended to and in the test it made on Franklin's tact and diplomacy. But as Mr. Clark here makes clear, the purpose of Franklin's privateers was humane and honorable, and only when that fundamental objective proved unattainable did Franklin grow weary of this work.

One of Franklin's continual concerns was the fate of Americans held prisoners in England; he worked arduously for their release by means of exchange for British prisoners held by America. The major difficulty in effecting such an exchange was the shortage of human currency: there was a basic need for more British prisoners! And, as Franklin noted, England "cannot give up the pleasant idea of having at the end of the war one thousand Americans to hang for high treason." Franklin found he had to work alone on this problem, since the Congress was obsessed with the need for French material assistance to the exclusion of all else, and so he turned to his power to commission privateers as a possible solution.

The first privateer commissioned by Franklin was a cutter now named *Black Prince* which went into action in May, 1779. The ship was specifically ordered to bring in as many prisoners from British prizes as possible, "because they serve to relieve so many of our Country-men from their Captivity in England." The moral justification for the commissioning was clear enough; which was as well, since the ship *Black Prince* was the former *Friendship*—an Irish smuggler which had just escaped British revenue officers under circumstances reminiscent of a Hollywood production. The Irish crew of the smuggler had determined on privateering to avoid capture and punishment as pirates. They may have avoided the fate of pirates, but they did not escape a later reputation for piracy due to the plundering of honest Dutch ships, and the robbing of their captains.

This first privateer was shortly joined by another, encouraged by early successes; the second vessel was appropriately named *Black Princess* and was joined by yet a third, the *Fearnot*. The careers of these "converted" Irish smugglers are admirably traced by Mr. Clark, who describes well the charmed lives the daring ships seemed to lead. Altogether these three commissioned privateers accounted for the capture of 114 English ships which were either burned, scuttled, ransomed, or brought into French ports and claimed for prize money. Marine insurance soared in England, and there was widespread unrest at the apparent inability of the Royal Navy to protect the English coast.

However, the activity of these privateers at last proved embarrassing to Franklin's ally and host, France. In June, 1780, there was the complaint of "inconvenience resulting from American privateers fitted out . . . by Frenchmen, and yet not subject to the same forms and laws with our privateers." The occasion for French protest was twofold: the increasing reliance of the American privateers upon Frenchmen to supplement the Irish crews; and the seizure of a Dutch ship whose owners denounced the condemnation of its contraband cargo.

Significantly, Franklin did not offer a vigorous defence, but volunteered to withdraw his commissions. As Mr. Clark explains, the final French cancellation of the commissions was a welcome decision for Franklin: "It relieved the Doctor of duties he had never sought and which were becoming more onerous and daily less useful to the United States." The facts speak for themselves: the net gain in terms of British prisoners taken was only ninety-five—after eighteen months of cruising. Franklin was not interested so much in the prizes as he was in securing prisoners for exchange, and since the exchange system was collapsing in any case, the main justification for his privateers had gone.

Yet, concludes William Bell Clark: "No other raiders, save John Paul Jones, struck heavier blows at British pride as 'Mistress of the Seas' than Dr. Franklin's little privateers, with their hard crews of Irish smugglers."

H. Trevor Colbourn

Pennsylvania State University

The Colonial American in Britain. By William L. Sachse. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. ix, 290 pp. $5.50.

This "story of an eastward attraction" which drew Americans of six generations to visit the mother country is a broadly based and thorough study bearing appeal for the general reader as well as for the specialist. Very capably, Dr. Sachse has focused upon a single but strong and durable strand among the many which bound the Empire. Until the stirring of rebellion in the 1760's, most Americans passing to and from Britain carried important baggage: good will and mutual understanding.

Professor Sachse shows that from 1640 until 1660 eastbound travelers from America were chiefly New Englanders, doubly attracted by a regime more liberal than that of Massachusetts and by unusual opportunities to participate in English affairs. After the Restoration Year, however, for New Englanders this attraction ended. Thereafter, down through the middle of the eighteenth century, American visitors came chiefly from Virginia, South Carolina and Maryland. In these colonies, for the recognized clergy episcopal ordination was indispensable, such ordination as could be had only in England. In these colonies, moreover, education at every level was regarded very commonly as a matter of private concern; local schools were few and limited. After 1740, but not before, the

representation of commercial Pennsylvania and New York became numerically important.

The total number of colonials visiting England cannot be ascertained, but the author has identified several hundred. Cambridge and Oxford between them accounted for one hundred, an equal number enrolled at Edinburgh, while at least twenty attended at Glasgow. Thirty entered at Eton, and many others went to greater and lesser schools. Nearly two hundred made their bows at the Inns of Court. At least a hundred fifty took Holy Orders. Aside from these ordinands, Quaker ministers—both men and women—were the only individuals who in numbers visited England on religious errands during the eighteenth century.

Two special hazards existed to which visiting colonials were suddenly exposed: smallpox and debauchery. Braving these dangers, Americans made the voyage, to serve as provincial agents, to seek political or ecclesiastical preferment, to claim inheritances, to transact commercial business. They even went for reasons of health. While in England on more serious business they toured the country and many of them—even the scientific and practical Franklin—seized the opportunity to trace ancestors and verify the family claim to a coat of arms. Many Americans also benefited intellectually from sojourn close to the heart of western culture in a most brilliant age. In some cases the benefit was mutual.

After 1689, England was properly revered as the world's freest nation; even so, colonial sojourners such as Franklin, Henry Laurens, Thomas McKean, Ralph Izard and Arthur Lee, came to sense that the established political system of Britain lacked elasticity, that it remained too legalistic and rigid to contain America's growing political consciousness. To study the visits of American colonials is to appreciate not only the powerful eastward attraction but also those American reactions which eventually generated rebellion.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg

King William County, Virginia: From Old Newspapers and Files. Compiled by ELIZABETH HAWES RYLAND. Richmond: Dietz Press, Inc., 1955. xiii, 137 pp. $3.75.

History of Prince Edward County, Virginia, from its Earliest Settlements through its Establishment in 1754 to its Bicentennial Year. By HERBERT CLARENCE BRADSHAW. Richmond: Dietz Press, Inc. [1955]. xxii, 934 pp. $10.

Many people who study professionally that far-flung social field coming to be called " American Civilization " are uneasily aware that many of its phases have not yet been written and that a good deal of those which have must be written over again. One reason for this is that the academic

historian is too often neglectful of the output of the local antiquarian. This fond and assiduous creature plies his trade, humbly and unrewardedly, in works ranging in scope from those devoted to an entire region down to abstracts of small-town archives. Most profitably, perhaps, he plies it via the history of an individual county, but there too often what he produces is dreadful beyond expression. Yet good or bad the county history catches that tiny, fugitive, local fact—preserves (often uniquely) those "primary sources"—of which the academic historian must inevitably take cognizance if he wishes his generalizations to have substance. In the two works here under review we are offered fair samples of the extremes in the writing of county history.

To begin with the lower extreme, the late Miss Ryland's little book—she was a professional genealogist living in Richmond—exhibits most of the faults its ilk is heir to. It is limited in scope (September, 1736, through January, 1841) and does not state the fact. Entries are often not reproduced *in toto*, and it is never made clear which Virginia newspaper is being cited for a given entry. The index is of names only, instead of names and topics; and neither the 110 helpful footnotes, nor the Marriage or Death sections, are indexed at all—which at one stroke decimates the volume's usefulness. But the positive side of this picture is very positive indeed; for King William is one of the Commonwealth's "lost" counties, that is, its records have largely vanished through natural or man-made catastrophe. As a result the present compilation automatically becomes a valuable complement to Peyton N. Clarke's *Old King William Homes and Families* (Louisville, Ky., 1897). The data, collected and couched in the lovely eighteenth-century idiom, are varied and informative, notably the accounts of the meteoric shower on November 13th, 1833, and of that Rumford Academy named for physicist Benjamin Thompson. The twenty-three illustrations, nearly all photographs of county residences, are very well reproduced, and the book itself is handsomely printed. All in all, this is a great deal better than nothing.

Where Miss Ryland worked in despite of a paucity of material, Mr. Bradshaw has revelled amid a plethora thereof. What he found or assembled he has exploited wisely, comprehensively, and with the long view: ". . . I have undertaken . . . to show the part that the locality has in contributing to the main stream of events in state and nation." He has done this so effectively that his book is an impressive demonstration of the way wherein local history, properly ascertained, becomes a microcosm of the American whole. To ascertain it, however, incurs an eye-shattering obligation on the part of the researcher. Fortunately for his subject, Mr. Bradshaw did not falter. Book-review editor of the Durham, N. C., *Herald-Sun* Papers, he has utilized every type of documentary and printed sources that demand such attention. In addition, as a native of Prince Edward and alumnus of its college (Hampden-Sydney), he has called upon wide personal knowledge and recollected anecdote to flesh out the bones of his narrative. He has organized this material into 21 chapters of text, 15 specialized appendices, 32 illustrations, and 112 pages of notes.

No significant phase of county life would appear to be neglected; every phase is accorded ample, and objective, discussion. Text and notes are jointly granted the compliment of an index that is just about perfect. What results is local history at a very high pitch.

Since this is a volume "of record," the author has not hesitated to flood it with names. Only once, however, in concluding Chapter XXI: "The Pleasant Life," do we threaten to descend to the level of a newspaper society column, and even here the answer to the query, "How local can you get?" is not easy to adjudicate. Perhaps most memorable is Chapter XII: "The Flowering of a Civilization," a close-packed (82 pages, 481 footnotes) panorama of the Federal and ante-bellum periods. Baltimoreans may wish to learn that the County founded its Paint and Powder Club at the same time as ours, 1894; that a Prince Edward native, Dr. E. H. Richardson, is credited with inaugurating the teaching of gynecology at the Hopkins, 1910; and that a favorite song of Civil War veterans in Farmville was Innes Randolph's "The Good Old Rebel."

Mr. Bradshaw might well have investigated travelers' accounts, he ought to have provided a bibliography of at least his manuscript sources, and he really should have offered a map. These are minor strictures of a major endeavor. His *History of Prince Edward County* not only supersedes Charles E. Burrell's treatment of the same subject (Richmond, 1922) but immediately takes its stand as one of the few wholly competent Virginia county histories in existence.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore, Md.

Historic Germantown from the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century. By HARRY M. and MARGARET B. TINKCOM and GRANT MILES SIMON. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955. vii, 154 pp. $5.

Historic Germantown, a slender folio volume of 154 pages, is made up of two parts: the history of the erstwhile independent village, now a part of the City of Philadelphia, by Mr. and Mrs. Tinkcom; descriptions by Mrs. Tinkcom and Mr. Simon of eighty-five ancient buildings, nearly all still standing, and of which Cliveden, the Chew Home, is the most important, especially to Marylanders. The historical section is well documented and attractively written. The descriptions of houses, accompanied in each case by an architect's measured drawing of the ground plan, and one or more plates, are terse and accurate. The work may be recommended as a model monograph on a historic area.

But *Historic Germantown* is far more than that. It is a propagandist document not only of value in the effort to save Germantown, but also of great importance in the nation-wide preservation movement. To begin with, its sponsorship by the American Philosophical Society, renowned for two centuries as an enlightened and forward-looking body, forever

refutes the doctrine of the thoughtless that only moss-backed antiquarians, out of touch with the century in which they live, are interested in saving America's architectural heritage.

In addition, *Historic Germantown*, as its all important preface written by Harold D. Saylor, President of the Germantown Historical Society, shows, is the product of the combined activities of The Germantown and Pennsylvania Historical Societies, the City Planning Commission and the Department of Public Works of Philadelphia, the Greater Philadelphia Movement, the Fairmount Park Commission and the Commonwealth Title Company, besides innumerable individuals. The cooperation of these official and other organizations in America's third largest city, demonstrates what is the present, and will be the future, cosmopolitan attitude toward historic preservation.

The Preface, it should be especially noted, declares that, if legislation by the State is needed, " steps will be taken to secure this legislation." In such confident language, speaks the leader of those who are determined to safeguard a great asset of one of America's most magnificent cities.

To the credit of Frederick and Annapolis, they have passed zoning laws to protect their historic treasures. Haphazard destruction of Baltimore's great architecture proceeds apace. Baltimore has lost its village pride without having acquired metropolitan wisdom. Too many of the City's leaders are obsessed with the desire to make money. The possession of wealth is the sole standard by which, being weighed and measured, such leaders would not be found wanting.

DOUGLAS GORDON

Baltimore, Md.

Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania. By KENNETH SCOTT. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1955. xi, 168 pp. $4.

This book, which appears as No. 132 of *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, should prove of interest to those who enjoy the author's article on counterfeiting in Maryland in this issue of the *Magazine*. The larger size of the Pennsylvania study in undoubtedly the result of a greater counterfeiting activity in Pennsylvania.

Aside from the inherent interest which attaches to the questionable trade of counterfeiting, this work should prove extremely valuable to museums and collectors possessing Colonial currency. It is not impossible that their collections contain some of the counterfeits described by Mr. Scott.

The old saw about printing your own money was hardly humorous to the authorities of the Colonial period, and the escapades of such scoundrels as the Morristown Gang suggest that the ability of our forefathers to organize their talents was not always expended on patriotic endeavors.

Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture. By EDNA TALBOTT WHITLEY. The National Society of The Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1956. xii, 848 pp.

Possessing an unusually complete set of photographs of portraits, the National Society of The Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Kentucky has shown admirable foresight in attempting the preservation of the known history of each painting, artist and portrait subject in their photograph collection. The compiling of information was initially undertaken by Miss Katherine Stout Bradley and Mrs. Whitley in 1938. The untimely death of Miss Bradley in 1940 left the completion of the project in the hands of the latter. The published results of this enterprise have been gratifying. The use of a good paper and an attractive type, Linotype Fairfield, has added appreciably to the merit of the work. There are a number of Maryland references included. An extensive bibliography and an intelligent index have also increased the usefulness of this project.

Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710–August 29, 1718. Edited by W. L. MCDOWELL. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955. xi, 368 pp. $8.

The journals printed in this volume of the Colonial Records of South Carolina give the record of a trade which stretched as far west as the Mississippi River. White traders furnished goods imported from London to the Indians, and in the process the Indians were frequently subjected to abuse and extortion. These journals show the attempts of the commissioners to arrest criminal offenders and to forestall the traders from instigating Indian raids designed to secure slaves from one another's tribes to be sold to the white men. The journals themselves are a mine of information on the frontier contacts between the white men and the Indian.

Governor Tryon and His Palace. By ALONZO THOMAS DILL. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xiii, 304 pp. $5.

As Historic Research Consultant for the Tryon Palace Restoration Commission, Mr. Dill has diligently searched the manuscript repositories of the United States and Great Britain for information about North Carolina's colonial capital. He was surprisingly successful in unearthing relevant material. His most startling find was the location of the original plans for the Tryon Palace in Britain's Public Record Office. Architecturally, this was probably the most fortunate discovery for the Commission. However, in writing his book Mr.Dill has gone far beyond a static presentation of his research. He has integrated the career of Governor Tryon, and his palace, with the turbulent era of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The result is an interesting, well-written narrative and a useful chapter in North Carolina history.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Guilford Landscaping—After speaking of the landscaping at Guilford surrounding the mansion of the McDonalds, later owned by the Abells, Mr. Paul, author of the article on "Guilford" in the last issue of this *Magazine*, remarked, "No record, unfortunately, survives of the skillful man who laid out the grounds to the best advantage of the noble trees . . ."

The name of this landscape gardener has been supplied by Mr. Merrick A. V. Smith, who writes from Albuquerque, New Mexico, of the "stories of my youth as related to me by my Mother who was the daughter of the Landscape Gardener who developed this and other tracts around Baltimore in the 1840's and 50's. . . . The landscaping of Guilford, then owned by William McDonald was done by the late William Waddell, a landscape gardener who came over from Scotland in the late 1830's." Mr. Smith goes on to say that Mr. Waddell developed the property of Johns Hopkins at Clifton, and that of Mr. Broadbent, now the Evergreen Estate, owned by the Johns Hopkins University. "I remember my Mother stating that her father was several years in developing the driveways, lake and greenhouses at Guilford for Mr. McDonald as well as erecting the gates on the York Road and Charles St. with the ornamental lions that were so well known for many years."

The Society's Biographical Index shows that "William Waddell, gardener," died in Baltimore August 13, 1883.

Greenough—In connection with the article by Nathalia Wright on Horatio Greenough and Robert Gilmor in the last issue of the *Magazine* Col. Edward C. Morse has sent us an excerpt from a diary kept by Isaac Edward Morse of New Orleans who at the age of twenty-two went to Europe on a tour. From Florence at the end of March, 1833, he wrote:

"During our stay here, we called to see Mr. Greenough, the American sculptor, who has been here for some years, perfecting himself in his art—He was quite polite to us, showed us his study with several of his works among which we noticed a good bust of Gen Lafayette, one of Fenimore Cooper—also Medora from Lord Byron's Corsair; this belongs to R[obert] G[ilmor]. Esq. of Baltimore & will be a splendid ornament to his library—"

Portraits of Nancy Hallam—Nancy Hallam was one of the first glamour girls of the American theatre. A beautiful and talented actress with a thrilling speaking and singing voice, she frequently took part in concerts and played Juliet and Ophelia, Lucia in *Cato*, Arpasia in *Tamerlane*, and Polly in *The Beggars' Opera.* She occasionally played a man's role, and the tight-fitting clothing of the "breeches part" delighted especially the male gallery gods. Two of the ballads she sang were entitled "Vain is Beauty's gawdy Flower" and "The Soldier tired of War's Alarm."

Miss Hallam played in the colonial theatres at Williamsburg, Charleston, Annapolis, Philadelphia and New York with the Old American Company directed in turn by Lewis Hallam, Sr., and David Douglass. She inspired poetry in the colonial press, and in 1771 Charles Willson Peale painted her portrait at Annapolis.

This picture showed her in a scene from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* as the beautiful and unfortunate Imogen disguised as the boy Fidele emerging from a forest cave. Peale first showed the portrait at the Annapolis Theatre and later hung it in his painting room and then in his Museum at Philadelphia. Catalogued as a landscape, Number 246, it was bought by one "Baird" in the sale of 1854 but its location today is unknown.

Peale also painted "Miss Hallam at the Flower Girl" in 1787 at Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia. This signed and dated oil painting, height 33½" width 22" was included in the sale of the collections of Evert Jansen Wendell at the American Art Appreciation, October 15-25, 1919 (Catalogue No. 4865).

Nancy Hallam was probably the daughter of William Hallam, brother of Lewis Hallam, Sr., manager of the Old American Company. She first appeared in Philadelphia in 1759 with these players acting children's roles and other minor parts. She dropped out of sight for several years and may have gone back to England to study singing. She joined the Company at Charleston in the fall of 1765 and then acted constantly in American cities until 1775 when she married John Raynard, organist of the Church at Kingston, Jamaica.

Colonial Williamsburg is trying to locate these portraits and asks that anyone having knowledge of them write John M. Graham, Curator of Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Alexander Hamilton Papers—Dr. J. E. Fields, Dr. Frank Monaghan and Forest H. Sweet are The Manuscript Society committee to work with Senator Mundt and the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission in securing copies of letters and documents of, to and about Alexander Hamilton for publication in The Hamilton Papers at Columbia, similar to the Jefferson Papers now being published at Princeton. If you have any letters or documents, or know anyone who has, will you write to Dr. Monaghan, Historian for the Commission, at the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, 440 H Street, N. W., Washington 25, D. C.

Griffin—I will pay $10 for the names of the parents of George Griffin, millwright, who lived in Baltimore for 87 years. He married Ann Nichols, Sept. 8, 1808, fought at North Point and Fort McHenry in 1814, and died Apr. 9, 1872. His daughter Hester Ann Griffin married on Dec. 14, 1843, William G. Fletcher.

ROBERT GRIFFIN SMITH
487 Union Avenue, Laconia, New Hampshire.

Taylor—Can anyone tell me if Capt. William Taylor of Westmoreland Co., Va., was the son of Col. George Taylor of Westmoreland Co., Va. (1711-1782) who married (1) Rachel Gibson and (2) Sarah Taliaferro Conway. Capt. William Taylor, whose will was probated in 1816 at Winchester, Va., lived at Green Hill near Berryville, Clarke County, Va. He married Catherine Bushrod, daughter of Col. John and Jane Lane Corbin Bushrod, in 1762. His children were John Bushrod, Griffin, Eben, Bushrod, Catherine, Benjamin and Elizabeth.

MRS. JOHN R. GROVE
The Pratt Mansion, Queen Anne, Md.

Bishop—Thomas Bishop married Elizabeth Barber in 1730 in Anne Arundel County, Md., and joined with his son Thomas John Bishop in May, 1755, in the sale of tobacco—same county. Is this Thomas Jr. the Thomas who was living in Anne Arundel County in 1760 when his son Elisha was born and who enlisted for the war in 1776 while living in Berkeley County, Virginia, and whose wife was Sarah? Family names recurring include Thomas, Sarah, Greenberry, Solomon, Isaac, Elizabeth and Elisha.

Morris—Who were the parents of Ann Morris, widow of Walter Morris, who married Ignatius Wheeler in August, 1783, and following his death in 1791 married Alexander Mackie, all of Charles County, Maryland? Did this Ignatius Wheeler, son of Clement Wheeler who died in 1799, serve in the Revolutionary War?

MRS. LEO D. PREWITT
Broadview, Fairfield, Iowa.

Pike—I am endeavoring to trace the parents of one Archibald Pike or Pyke who died in St. Mary's County, Maryland, in the year 1750. His wife's name was Lucy—her maiden name is unknown. I am also interested in any other Pikes prior to 1950.

CALVIN J. PIKE
19938 Blackstone, Detroit 19, Mich.

CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH SCOTT, Professor of Modern Languages and Head of the Department of Modern Languages at Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y., is the author of books on counterfeiting in colonial New York (1953) and colonial Pennsylvania (1955). The latter is reviewed in this issue. He is now preparing a book on counterfeiting in colonial America for publication by the Oxford University Press. ☆ EDWIN W. BEITZELL is an official of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company. His avocation is the study of St. Mary's County history, about which he has written a number of authoritative articles in various publications. For this *Magazine* he wrote an article on Thomas Gerard in September, 1951. ☆ ELIZABETH CONNOR was librarian of the Mount Wilson Observatory and assistant editor of Observatory publications between 1916 and her retirement in 1950. At present she is preparing a biography of Philip Gatch who lived in Maryland from 1751 to 1776. ☆ Dr. J. A. CAMPBELL COLSTON is an internationally known surgeon specializing in urology at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. In addition to holding many distinguished professional offices, Dr. Campbell is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Lyric Theater, which his father was instrumental in establishing.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Burleigh Manor, Howard County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE
September · 1956

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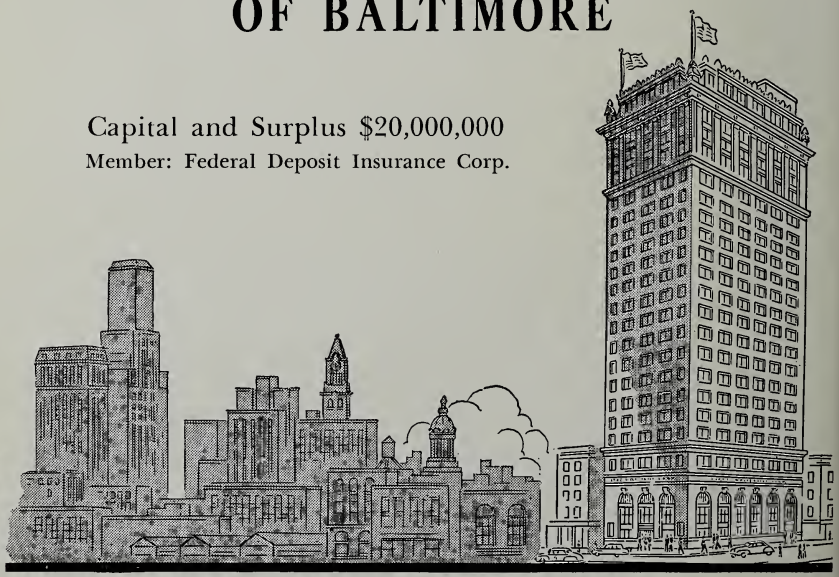

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FRANCIS C. HABER, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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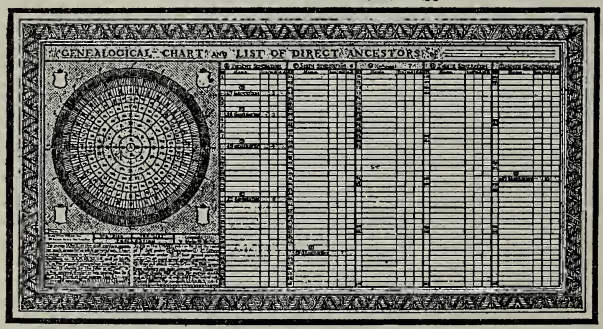

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

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THE RED BOOK, 1819-1821, A SATIRE ON BALTIMORE SOCIETY

By Charles H. Bohner

A SMALL, neatly printed pamphlet entitled simply *The Red Book* appeared anonymously in Baltimore on October 23, 1819. It was an immediate success. Within two months a third edition was called for, and the authors were encouraged to bring out seven more installments at intervals of about a fortnight. Eventually two more numbers were published, and the ten issues, collected and bound in two slim volumes, hold a small but significant place in the literary history of Baltimore.

Historians regularly list *The Red Book* as a Baltimore contribution to the *Spectator* tradition in America which was represented by the *Salmagundi* in Washington Irving's New York coterie and the *Portfolio* in Joseph Dennie's Philadelphia circle. Of equal

importance, *The Red Book* was the first important publication of Baltimore's most distinguished nineteenth-century man of letters, John Pendleton Kennedy. The occasional references to the volumes, however, are often oblique, suggesting that they are seldom read, perhaps because of their rarity. Kennedy himself preserved only one copy, and in 1860 it was, he wrote, "the only copy I know of in the country." [1] In 1870 Brantz Mayer, president of the Maryland Historical Society, noted on the flyleaf of the copy now in the Library of Congress: "This is one of the rarest of Maryland Books, (written and published in Baltimore) now long out of print and probably not a dozen copies in existence complete." At Kennedy's death in 1870, a writer for the Baltimore *American* observed that copies of *The Red Book* "are now rare, and are highly praised on account of the sketches of Baltimore at that time which they contain." [2]

John Pendleton Kennedy was twenty-three years old and a promising, ambitious lawyer when the first number of *The Red Book* appeared in 1819. His life up until that time was closely connected with Baltimore. He was born in 1795 in a house in Market (now Baltimore) Street, the son of a local merchant. He attended dame school and the Priestley Academy in his native city, graduated from Baltimore College in 1812, and in 1814 served as a private soldier in the battles of Bladensburg and North Point. Following his admission to the bar in 1816, he established bachelor quarters with several friends on St. Paul Street, and his geniality and talent for the social graces gained him rapid ascent into the rarer atmosphere of the Baltimore social galaxy.

Young Kennedy was handsomely endowed physically. About five feet ten inches tall, he was exacting in his dress, and while not inclined to attitudinize, he had a flare for bright colors and slightly exaggerated fashions. Perhaps the more homespun Baltimoreans privately labeled this young man a coxcomb who obviously enjoyed the effect produced by a scarlet lining in his great coat. His forehead was high, his chin slightly aggressive, and his lean, oval face was redeemed from an ascetic quality by a glint of humor lurking in his eyes. This last, the reflection of a

[1] Diary of John Pendleton Kennedy, Nov. 7, 1860. Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore.

[2] Baltimore *American*, Aug. 20, 1870.

tranquil and sunny temperament, was admirably caught in the portrait by Matthew Wilson [3] and was not altogether submerged even in the murky daguerreotypes—the eyes of a man who scrutinized life and found it inexpressibly droll.

In later years Kennedy won fame for his gently ironic picture of plantation life in Virginia, *Swallow Barn* (1832), his novel of the Revolution, *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835), and his romance of colonial Maryland, *Rob of the Bowl* (1838). In politics he distinguished himself as a member of the House of Delegates at Annapolis for four terms, as congressman at Washington for three, and as Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore. But in 1819, these triumphs were all before him.

Kennedy was joined in the enterprise of *The Red Book* by his intimate friend, Peter Hoffman Cruse. Kennedy and Cruse were inseparable. While Cruse lived, the two friends went everywhere together, and whether attracting attention at a masked ball as palmers from the Holy Land or dominating the table talk at the dinner of a wealthy merchant, their combined wit could transform a gathering into an occasion.[4] John H. B. Latrobe, son of the architect of the Capitol and himself a well-known Baltimore lawyer, called them " the Damon and Pythias of society in Baltimore. . . . Both had humor; but while Cruse was full of it, Kennedy was overflowing." [5] " We have associated so long together," Kennedy wrote in the first number of *The Red Book*, " that all our habits and notions have become completely identified, and it not infrequently happens from this very cause, that one of us is eternally appropriating, as the peculiar figment of his brain, the schemes and projects of the other."

Cruse evidently had a ready facility for brilliant conversation, for his law office in the Athenaeum Building was a center of good literary talk in Baltimore.[6] He had a volatile temper and could be moody and irritable when depressed by what he considered the world's neglect. A defeat at chess would throw him into " an infernal passion." With a sweep of his arm, he would

[3] Owned by the Peabody Institute Library.

[4] John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and his Times 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917), p. 222; " The Diary of Robert Gilmor," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII (1922), 246.

[5] Semmes, *Latrobe*, pp. 224-5.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9.

pettishly scatter the chessmen about the room; and having sworn never to play again, in two hours' time he would sheepishly offer to renew the game.[7]

In later years, Kennedy said of Cruse: "He is pre-eminently the most scrupulous and delicate man in his judgments that I ever knew, and one who . . . would not hesitate to speak to me in such a tone as suited my honour and reputation without the least bias from friendship."[8] In *The Red Book*, Cruse penned a self-portrait in verse:

> Meanwhile,—that doughty men may know
> What doughtier hero is their foe,—
> My height's five feet eleven,
> My courage fair, my temper hot,
> My hand not bad at pistol shot
> My age scant twenty-seven.

Cruse did not share Kennedy's inclination for public life, for he longed to be a poet in a world where the vocation did not exist. His ill-starred career leaves the impression of a man whose wit was a defense against a hostile environment that valued him below his merits. The two men illustrate the paths open to an ambitious author in the early nineteenth century. A man could, like Kennedy, enter the law and go on to politics considering literature as a by-product and ornament of an "elegant leisure." This was a role society readily sanctioned. Cruse, on the other hand, drifted out of the law which he found uncongenial and into journalism, writing an occasional review for the *North American*, and eventually becoming an editor of the Baltimore *American* and later the *Patriot*, where he seldom transcended the limits of a newspaper column.[9] Wracked by ill health and depressed by the drudgery of hack writing, he grew increasingly waspish: "Were I to follow my inclination, I should hardly ever shut my book, or leave my chamber. It is not that I am morose, but I can neither bear the same temperature nor enter into the same topics that others can."[10] Cruse fell victim of a cholera epidemic in Baltimore September 7, 1832, his early promise

[7] Josias Pennington to Kennedy, June 14, 1822. Pennington Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
[8] Kennedy to Elizabeth Gray, Aug. 8, 1828. Kennedy Papers.
[9] Baltimore *American*, Sept. 8, 1832.
[10] P. H. Cruse to Philip R. Fendall, Mar. 30, 1830. Maryland Historical Society.

unfulfilled, and he is unknown to literary history except for his association with Kennedy in *The Red Book.*[11]

At their bachelor quarters Kennedy and Cruse had begun to project a periodical, a satiric potpourri in the *Spectator* tradition. Josias Pennington, another young Baltimore lawyer, recalled the two friends during the years in St. Paul Street as about " equally fond of literature and ladies," [12] and the idea for a periodical was probably inspired less by the thought of unselfish service to the muse than by a hope for drawing room notoriety.

The Red Book was brought out by a local printer, Joseph Robinson. His " Circulating Library " at the corner of Market and Belvedere Streets was a flourishing Baltimore institution owing no doubt to its imaginative proprietor. Robinson had a thorough acquaintance with the vagaries of the genus author, and he brought to his work experience as an enterprising publisher, literary critic, and unflinching counselor to ambitious writers. When the first printing of *The Red Book* rapidly sold out, he hastened to deflate the vanity of these young authors by assuring them that all depended on the second number, curiosity only having sold the first. True, the town was in a ferment. But he attributed this, with more truth than tact, to the mystery surrounding the publication and the thinly veiled allusions to personalities rather than to any intrinsic merit.[13] " A word," he cautioned, " about *concealment.* I have commenced the publication of several works under the plan of concealment—but unfortunately the success and popularity of the first efforts has generally tickled the authors into an avowal to a few particular friends, who soon made it publick. It is against this vanity of authorship that I caution you, as I know from experience that curiosity is the ruling passion in the publick, the gratification of which is the principal incitement to purchase a Book." [14] Robinson was a past master of merchandising. He contrived to keep a crowd at the " Circulating Library " all day by refusing to let copies of *The Red Book* out to other book sellers for, he remarked dryly, " nothing sells a book so well as the *apparent* demand." [15] He confided to the

[11] Josias Pennington to Kennedy, Sept. 7, 1832. Pennington Papers.
[12] Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), p. 108.
[13] Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 27, 1819. Kennedy Papers.
[14] Joseph Robinson to Charles Dilworth, Oct. 14, 1819. Kennedy Papers.
[15] Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 27, 1819. Kennedy Papers.

fledgling authors that " I have rather the publick should believe they could get a copy with difficulty and intend to have the first edition *out of print* before it is half sold, in order to induce a belief that the work is in great demand—a second edition looks so very respectable." [16] His advertisements were exercises in subtlety. Shunning the blurb as too obvious, he informed his customers through the newspapers of the progress of a forthcoming number and of the exact hour of the day it would be offered for sale, apologized for his failure to meet public demand, and advised purchasers to have " the ready change " so that he might " accomodate them quicker." [17] It was perhaps Robinson who suggested whetting the curiosity of the town wits by inserting the following " puzzle " in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* a few days before the publication of the first issue of *The Red Book*.[18]

There will appear in a few days a phenomenon, which its inventors, but for their modesty, would call a prodigy. It will not be seen in the heavens, though it is believed it will *take air*. It will be of small size, (the philosopher who has predicted its advent, having determined it to be eighteen times less than his *folio*) and of a red color. It is not, however, of the comet family, though it is of a fiery complexion, and of a devious course, and will be somewhat irregular in its returns. It will be full of black spots like the sun, which it is expected the curious will often be found gazing at; but what is singular, it is these only which will make it *shine*. There will no earthquakes attend its appearance, indeed judicious thinkers believe it will do good, though it will no doubt create some consternation among silly and ignorant persons, and set all *light bodies* and *mere vapors* in a flame. It will exert, perhaps, some influence on the approaching *season*; but it will be very opposite to that which is sometimes experienced from the Moon; and astrologers say it will have the singular property of setting the young men to reading, and the young women to guessing. Its *right ascension* is not yet determined, but it will look for all the world like Sagittarius shooting the *goose*. We are inclined to believe it does not shine with borrowed light; but there will be some very shrewd Philosophers of a contrary opinion. It resembles *Saturn* least of all the planets, and is certainly no *satellite*.

It may now be expected in a few days, and we recommend it to all persons, as is customary on the appearance of a new moon, by all means, to have some silver in their pockets.

The reference to silver was particularly appropriate, for Robinson's aims were refreshingly clear. " The object is profit," he

[16] Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 18, 1819. Kennedy Papers.
[17] Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 18, 1819; Dec. 23, 1819; Jan. 22, 1820.
[18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1819.

announced of one new periodical. It would " be issued *when* the publisher pleases, as *often* as he pleases, and *contain* what he pleases." Similarly, *The Red Book* would appear " varying with the inclination of the publisher." [19] He was so inclined, for it was a popular, and presumably a financial, success. The hand presses could not keep up with demand. It was " talked of at every dinner and tea drinking in town," [20] and by March, 1820, Robinson was advertising a bound volume of the first six numbers.[21]

The Red Book faithfully mirrored Baltimore society, for Cruse and Kennedy had observed closely and reported accurately. The pamphlets had all the exuberance and brash insolence of youth, and like any young man's book, tried to sound a hundred years old. The authors began with the classic stereotype of the satirist: " The world in our opinion needs correction and we have essayed to use the weapons placed in our hands." Although Robinson warned them that the barbs of their wit struck too close to home, in all probability it was the personal tone that gave the paper its notoriety. Allusion to angry protests and insulted victims, probably imaginary, was a technique borrowed from *Salmagundi.* The town eagerly scanned a new issue, each person searching for a reflection of his own likeness. Frivolous coquettes, fops and dandies, the pompous new rich; all were roundly abused. The first issue warned Baltimore what to expect: " Baltimore, it is said abroad, is celebrated for three things—its *music*, its *churches* and its *military.* In each of these, are strange anomalies. Music is patronized by those who have the least *ear* and the most *money* (which is only another name for discord). The best *churches* are built by the worst christians; and in the *military* department, it is observed, that all logick is set at defiance in making *majors* of *minors*." Fashions in humor change and today this doubtless sounds fatuous, but in 1819 Baltimore laughed and tried to guess the identity of the wags who wrote it. *The Red Book* revealed this society as it was, increasingly self-conscious and increasingly sophisticated, for the satiric spirit invariably accompanies such growth. The authors were ready to admit what the success of their pamphlets implied—Baltimore's awakening interest in litera-

[19] Baltimore *American*, Nov. 27, 1822; *The Red Book*, I, 36.
[20] Joseph Robinson to Kennedy and Cruse, Oct. 27, 1819. Kennedy Papers.
[21] *Federal Gazette*, Mar. 16, 1820.

ture. " Letters are now of such repute," Kennedy has his old philosopher, Mr. Bronze, observe, " that I am not bold in saying that most of our gentlemen read the Reviews, and our ladies Waverly—only skipping the Scotch."

Since Kennedy and Cruse had " promised to rectify all abuses," they " found it necessary from time to time to stroll through the principal haunts of our fashionables, in order to ascertain the precise condition of the body politick at each period. It seemed particularly necessary, that Market-street should be accurately inspected from either extreme—first, because Market-street is a perfect epitome of the whole city, and secondly, because it is the perfect prize fighting ground to which every patrician and plebian is referred for contest."

As this was the first time I had ever gone officially to work on my rectifying project, I am sure Aeneas did not pass with greater admiration through the streets of Carthage in his cloak of cloud, than did I through the streets of this our noble city in my cloak of plaid. Every thing wore an unusual aspect, and as the bustle, confusion, gaiety and tumult of the scene pressed upon my senses with an urgency that defied arrangement or deliberation, I shall be excused for giving my impressions as I remember them from the instant.

Trade, from several indications, appeared to be at a most deplorable ebb. The payments were free from that accumulation of bales and barrels and crockery which, in the busy times, formed labyrinths almost inextricable; the drays were empty, and like other things that are empty, made most noise. For squares before me, I could perceive a multitude of borrowers popping into one door after another, like the autumn bees seeking for honey in exhausted flowers, with fruitless assiduity. A few clerks with bank books under their arms, were striding with rapid steps to make some slim deposites in the banks, while the runners of these monied institutions, with a haste that outstripped competition, were carrying to the several stages of their journey that unwelcome message which merchants usually read in the quaint and laconic letters of " Your note due at—on—and—."

Here and there I could observe a few spruce and well-combed shopkeepers standing at their doors, with either hand immersed in the side pocket, gazing with a kind of hopeless disquietude upon the street, while the pert young tenant of a huge merino, secure from impertinent glances under her bower-bearing bonnet, trippingly held her way upon the plain masonry, as disinterested to the shopkeeper, bank runner and merchant's clerk, as she wished to be thought in the ministrations of her charity in the Dorcas or Aimwell.

The show before me was made up of various actors, all in tumult and uproar. An elderly matron on one side was laying up a winter's store

of blankets—a young married lady on the other, was selecting a hearth rug from some score of samples. Some old maids here and there interspersed, were buying ruffs to cover the neck, and furbelows to dally round the ankles—while a whole volley of young girls bounding with the healthful skip of the dancing school from a carriage into a perfumery or a milliner's shop, were laying in with a most impetuous haste, stores of soap, tooth powder, macassar oil—bundles of flowers, and that mysterious instrument of steel, somewhat resembling Sena Sama's sword, which these untamed citizens use for a purpose that I cannot precisely comprehend; the effect of which, however, is to render them as straight as the above mentioned sword swallower, and to maintain with a more accurate distinction, a separation which nature has not always made entirely clear. . . .

It would be vain to attempt to picture the confusion, uproar and riot, with the consequent thrill communicated to the senses by the toilsome, never ending jarring of carts, drays, wheelbarrows, gigs, chairs, sulkies, buggies, chariots, cabrioles, barouches and coaches which fill up the street. Upon these I looked with indifference, principally because they fled too rapidly from my view to engage much speculation. It had been hinted to me, that from the pressure of the times and the economical disposition of the city, the number of the last mentioned vehicles was considerably diminished, or to use the more technical phrase, they had been recently put down. I presume, however, my informant was mistaken, as they came rattling one after the other, revived in gayer colours, from the chrysalis of the coach house, where they had passed their time in cobwebs and in canvas. . . .

I remember that the bucks *stood* in bundles at the corners, possibly from a consciousness of individual weakness—probably, for no other cause than that they were like the people of Phoeaca, and did not know what else to do. The Lawyers *walked* in knots—because, perhaps, they deal in these articles, and moreover are of greater service to each other than to any one else, and therefore fond of each other's company. The Doctors, on the contrary, walked alone—I presume for the very opposite reason, as they are seldom known to admire or esteem one another. The young ladies generally walked upon the *sides* of their feet; some with the toes turned inwards—others outwards, according to the fancy of the owner; the varieties arising mostly from the degree of tightness in the shoe, necessary to compress the feet into fashionable dimensions. . . .

In this motley assemblage, the sourest face I saw, belonged to an old maid who had in her youth been a toast. The most cheerful looking man, was a bankrupt. The busiest matron, a widow who had a young friend about to be married—the wisest looking man was a bank director—the prettiest girl was a young quaker. The most egregious fool—here I am at a loss,—this honor was divided among several candidates. The most out-landish man was a dandy—the most gossiping was a lounger—the most dogmatick, a parson—the most pompous, a lawyer—the most learned, in his own opinion, a doctor—the most dignified, a dancing master. The

happiest of the whole group was the ash-man, lording it over his mound of the decomposed essences of mortality—dust and ashes; careless and contented, whistling in the cloud that enveloped him, as little affected by the din and clamour and vanity and folly of the scene around him, as the Mohawk chief in Drury-Lane.

The Red Book incorporated many of the stock devices and comic conventions of the English periodical essay which had been long since naturalized and hackneyed in *Salmagundi* and the *Portfolio.* The mock epistles, counterfeit erudition, and essays on sentiment were couched in a style that persistently echoed Addison and Steele. Allegories and parodies were varied with sketches after the manner of the seventeenth-century "character" ("A Full Length Portrait of Mr. Dunder") and with efforts to temper wit with morality ("Letter to a Young Lady"). The old philosopher, Mr. Bronze, endowed by Kennedy with a sentimental past and a quaint air of detachment, was a lineal descendent of Sir Roger de Coverley, but influenced perhaps by William Wirt's *Old Bachelor.* An imaginary travel sketch such as "Voyage to the Underworld" was not only reminiscent of *Gulliver's Travels* stylistically, but coolly borrowed several Swiftian episodes in describing a Laputa-like subterranean country. Perhaps the cleverest contribution was a series of spirited verse satires by Cruse under the title "Horace in Baltimore." Although Cruse knew his Roman poetry, he knew James and Horace Smith's *Horace in London* much better. Even though the topical and personal allusions are lost, the odes retain considerable verve and wit. The ode, "To Fashion," in the first number of *The Red Book*, is characteristic.

Bright dame! who sweep'st with Cashmere vest
  Thro' halls another's cash has furnish'd,
My *plumed* lance is in the rest,
  And my satirick armour burnish'd.
I cannot see without a frown
  Knaves, fools and coxcombs all thy passion;
Fast as some rogue of note goes down,
  Some ass of merit takes his station.

* * * *

Shall Wealth and Thou to Chloe bring
  A score of beaux the dunce to flatter?
Shall Delia round the bowing ring
  Deal out impertinence for satire?

Shall Bauble from his empty pate
Unmark'd his windy trifles vent,
And wealthy Dunder walk sedate
In all the pride of " cent. per cent.? "

No! if to me the Red Book yield
A place upon its honest pages,
My Quixote muse shall take the field
Careless what *windmill* she engages.
Mere windmills all thy doughtiest sons,
That veer with every veering blast:
The noisy thing its circle runs,
But bursts too oft its sails at last.

Apparently Kennedy wrote the prose and Cruse the poetry: " Horace [Cruse] disdains to speak save in rhyme; looking down on us *prosers* with the same sort of tranquil scorn with which a wholesale man contemplates a retailer in Market Street. He is indeed a veritable poet, ' married to immortal verse,' unlikely to adventure on any other sort of matrimony." Many of the puns and epigrams, however, were probably the result of literary communism, a collaboration of youth, wine, and cigars at stag revels in St. Paul Street.

In the literary careers of John Kennedy and Peter Cruse, *The Red Book* marks a summit of youthful high spirits. It did not really matter if the wisdom was merely aphorism and the humor only impudence. The authors had captured an audience and had experienced the ecstasy of print. If the scope of the papers was narrow and the characters only types, what Cruse and Kennedy did was accomplished with vivacity, and if their achievement was modest, they could reply that they had aimed at nothing more. *The Red Book* revealed how steeped the authors were in the literature of coffee-house London and how sedulously they had aped their models. The picture of Baltimore society was limited but authentic, circumscribed by a literary convention and without interpretative depth. Except for an occasional comic thrust at the depressed financial condition of the country owing to the bank crash of 1819, the authors did not venture beyond the confining walls of a Gay Street drawing room or the fashionable section of the Market Street promenade. Yet, and the fact is not without significance, there was no trace of that anti-Anglican bias and arrogant assertion of cultural independence which vitiated

so much periodical writing of the time like a neurosis of inferiority. Men like James Kirke Paulding complained to Kennedy that "our literary taste is but the reaction, the mere echo across the Atlantic." [22] Kennedy and Cruse, however, seem not to have felt it necessary to challenge the British sneer, "who reads an American book?," and the fact argues the independence and brash self-assurance, rather than the insularity, of the Baltimore intellectual climate.

It did matter, however, if Boston read Baltimore books, and the young men rushed the first volume of *The Red Book* to that city for review. From the heights of the New England Parnassus, Andrews Norton confessed himself faintly troubled by the irreverent tone he discovered in its allusions to Scripture and grumbled over the impurities of its Greek but, all things considered, he managed to "pronounce a favorable judgment." Edward Everett, editor of the *North American Review*, found the little volume bursting with talent and regretted that it was not the policy of his journal to review periodicals. Everett envied them the growing size of Baltimore for, he complained, in Boston a writer must be more prudent lest he offend an acquaintance.[23]

Cruse and Kennedy announced twelve numbers of *The Red Book* and after the appearance of the sixth in January, 1820, they promised to resume after a six-weeks' vacation. The first issue of the second volume duly appeared for sale at the "Circulating Library" March 3, 1820, and was followed by two more at intervals of about a month, but there was a noticeable decline in quality. Alas! these two young men really did not have much to say and they had exhausted their heavy ammunition in the first volleys. A year passed without further publication, but so intense was the interest aroused that speculation persisted as to the identity of the authors. Finally the publisher, Joseph Robinson, suggested issuing a tenth number in which the authors should take a half-merry, half-grave leave of their public, momentarily rekindle enthusiasm, alarm their foes, and end with the promised explosion. Then with the studden unmasking of the authors, "we may," Cruse reminded Kennedy, "live a little day of *bagatelle* glory once more." [24]

[22] J. K. Paulding to Kennedy, June 10, 1832. Kennedy Papers.

[23] Andrews Norton to Kennedy and Cruse, July 24, 1820; Edward Everett to Cruse and Kennedy, June 26, 1820. Kennedy Papers.

[24] Cruse to Kennedy, Jan. 9, 1821. Kennedy Papers.

Kennedy agreed, but he was probably bored with the scheme and glad to have done with it. *The Red Book*, he knew, had slight claim to immortality even though, as these punsters boasted, " it possesses the advantage, that let the world slight it as it may, it will always be *red.*" Kennedy had found another enthusiasm; he had embarked on a new career. On October 4, 1820, at the age of twenty-four, he was elected a representative from Baltimore to the Maryland House of Delegates.[25] Politics was a novelty and its rewards were more tangible than the baubles of bagatelle glory among the local litterateurs. Cruse, also, believed " it is certainly time for us to be doing something better than writing R. Books." [26] The tenth and last number, made up chiefly of poems by Cruse, appeared March 16, 1821, and it was Cruse who wrote the valedictory of *The Red Book.*

> But go! you idle, insect thing;
> You brought some honey with your sting,
> More merriment than trouble:
> Like other things that aim at *style*,
> 'Twas yours to soar and shine awhile,
> A breath-inflated bubble.

[25] *Federal Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1820.
[26] Cruse to Kennedy, Jan. 9, 1821. Kennedy Papers.

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877

By Clifton K. Yearley, Jr.

BY early August of 1877 "the most extensive and deplorable workingmen's strike" ever to take place "in this or any other country"[1] was over, less than three weeks after it had begun. Railroad employees, and their sympathizers among canal men, miners, box makers, sawyers, and longshoremen, who were allowed to reclaim their jobs were reporting again for work. Only the intractable anthracite miners, many of them in the railways' captive pits, held out in Eastern Pennsylvania. Respectable people were relieved that the "first gun of the Commune" had been silenced, the eruption of the "labor volcano" controlled, "the insurrection" suppressed.[2] In seven states Federal troops relaxed their vigil, and in these and others, state militia slowly disbanded. Ten major and several small railroads, mainly eastern trunk lines, triumphantly began running their trains on time and, happily for speculators and investors, the prices of railway securities remained high.[3] A score of rail terminals, relay and marshaling centers, meanwhile, counted more than a hundred trainmen, laborers, bystanders, and tramps dead, and uncounted hundreds were injured or wounded. Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Reading, Scranton and a dozen smaller communities calculated property damage in millions of dollars, surveyed destruction in their midst and remembered hours of violence and terror. With the strike over, however, there was time to reflect on the tragedy.

Armed with hindsight, observers easily detected the tinder that had fed the holocaust of July and August, for 1877 started off as

[1] Editorial in *The Nation*, July 26, 1877.

[2] See Allan Pinkerton, *Strikes, Communists, Tramps, and Detectives* (London, 1878), p. 147. Baltimore *American*, July 23, 1877. *The Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XI (1877), 415.

[3] *The Nation*, Aug. 2, 1877.

a year of deep disturbances. As background for the pervasive atmosphere of alarm there loomed the great political event itself. In March, amid electoral frauds and railroad lobbying, sectional logrolling and personal bargains—all linked with expectations of civil conflict—the disputed presidential contest was finally compromised and Rutherford Hayes was uneasily installed in the White House. The nation, the compromise, and the Republican economic policies over which Hayes presided, however, were not more secure. Nor could they have been. Currency agitation, strikes, business failures, and agricultural unrest continued.[4] Although a handful of Molly Maguires, the very symbols of social disorder, was hanged in June, their departure reminded many men of " dangerous classes " and of the industries packed with social dynamite. Hence when General Sherman told New York's Chamber of Commerce that American government could not subsist without the Army, that without this force the people would become another mob, it was hard to tell, given the times, whether this was special pleading for Army appropriations or a prophetic warning.[5]

Overriding other causes of crisis, nonetheless, were two harsh facts: the nation was entering its fourth year of hard times, and the country's major industrial interests, the railroads, were complaining that the depression was proving to be an unsupportable incubus.

Whatever achievements or shortcomings historians may attribute to particular railroads, several things were true of the railroad industry generally in 1877.

First, all roads had complex financial problems which they had not mastered. There were difficulties, despite generous subsidies, in meeting construction costs and in some places making lines pay, difficulties in competing with rival roads and pernicious practices, difficulties resulting from the then merely debatable practice of stock watering, from over-capitalization, from unwise speculation and investment.

Second, railroad relations with several important groups were on the whole bad. Many stockholders had been swindled or treated with irresponsible disregard. Numerous farmers were still

[4] For general background see, C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction* (Boston, 1951).

[5] Baltimore *Sun*, July 23, 1877, citing the General's speech of May. Also, see *American*, June 22, 1877.

opposed to rate and storage policies, and granger agitation remained significant. Certain business interests, too, such as Midwestern grain dealers or small mine operators in Eastern coal fields, feared the roads' privileged position as carriers. And, not the least of the dissident groups were workingmen who under duress of the depression protested against what they considered high-handed, patronizing, or paternalistic policies of railway managers and the "unfairness" of company wage and promotional plans.

Third, despite, or perhaps because of special privileges from chartering states, railroad leaders seldom questioned their rights to the exercise of great power. There were few of them who did not regard themselves as free to interpret the economic laws of the day to suit their predilections or as entitled to serve as masters and guardians of the nation's economic destiny.

Fourth, and finally, the railroads wielded in state and national circles a political as well as an economic influence that was probably second to none. Indeed, it was so vast that Henry Adams would later suggest, and William Allen White would confirm, that a whole generation and many of its legislators, for better or for worse, were figuratively mortgaged to the railroads.[6]

The history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, it was once noted, could be divided into three stages: "before Garrett, Garrett, and after Garrett."[7] Certainly John W. Garrett impressed both his friends and his enemies enormously, and this was not due solely to his great physical bulk. In many respects Garrett almost fits the stereotype of the "captain of industry:" dynamic among his peers, commanding, forceful and resourceful in the face of problems. During the war he participated in Lincoln's cabinet meetings and a high valuation was placed on his services to the Union. Afterwards, under his aegis the B & O was weaned away from possession by the State of Maryland. Its empire was ex-

[6] On the preceding points see, *Final Report of the Industrial Commission* (Washington, 1902), XIX, 259-481. *U. S. Senate Committee upon the Relations between Labor and Capital* (Washington, 1885), I, 317, 605-610, 1080-1083; II, 469-500, 746-747, 964-981. *U. S. Bureau of Labor, 3rd Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1887. Strikes and Lockouts* (Washington, 1888), pp. 1067-1072. Thomas Cochran, *Railroad Leaders: 1845-1890* (Cambridge, 1953). Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1928), p. 240. *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York, 1946), pp. 149, 177-178, 184-185. Stewart Holbrook, *The Story of American Railroads* (New York, 1947).

[7] Edward Hungerford, *Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), I, 323.

tended to the Mississippi, then beyond to Chicago, and out of its shops at Mt. Clare and its technical school came engines and engineers that are still the pride of the railroad industry. Furthermore, under Garrett's direction the B & O increased its preeminence as the first industry of the State. Merely in the process of operating the road its president exerted an influence as great as that of any other individual in Maryland.[8]

In the summer of 1877 John Garrett's policies represented a series of reactions against the depression. Succinctly, they might be described as encompassing retrenchment and economy. Pursuing this course, the B & O announced on Monday, July 11, that a ten per cent wage reduction would become effective the following week. Four of its competing roads, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, the Erie and Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Northern Central Railroad, had previously announced their wage cuts. Only George Wilkins, superintendent of the latter road, a small line which ran into Baltimore, felt any compulsion to explain to his men in advance why the step was essential.[9]

B & O reductions, to be sure, affected all employees, including company officers, but they were designed primarily to require workingmen to carry their share of the depression burden. Although the B & O's daily wage rate was lower than the Pennsylvania Railroad's, for instance, company officials felt that despite earlier cuts it still compared favorably with the earnings the men could command in other industries. They believed, moreover, that philanthropy and economy had already been too long combined. Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad spoke for the industry when he declared that " many establishments have been kept in operation simply that men might be employed . . . often . . . without one iota of profit to the owner," and he left no doubt that this was the case with the railroad companies. Many respectable men, viewing matters in this light, regarded the wage cuts as fair. " The only injustice a railroad can inflict on its men is *to neglect*

[8] J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 449, 602, 661, 686, 693, 715. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, 402, 416, 517, 530, 656, 729-731. Brantz Mayer, *Baltimore: Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1871), p. 261.

[9] For wage comparisons see *American*, July 17, 1877, and *Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Part III, Industrial Statistics* (Harrisburg, 1882), Vol. IX, 1880-1, 360-361. Hereafter cited as *Annual Report, Pa.*

paying them," wrote one prominent editor, while another argued that if corporations could not follow the dictates of the market they would be ruined. Among the rare dissenting voices raised was that of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., whose association with the railroad industry was as intimate as John Garrett's or Tom Scott's. His call for a ten per cent *increase* in wages, nevertheless, came too late.[10]

Whatever the wisdom of Garrett's decision, he undoubtedly realized that it entailed a measure of risk. The effects of wage cuts within the industry were known to every manager. On February 12, for example, reductions drove engineers and firemen off their jobs with the Boston and Maine Railroad. There was not any trouble breaking the strike, but it so crippled industries in parts of New England that the Massachusetts Railroad Commission planned a conference on the subject of profits, wages, and employee relations. Ironically, invitations were to have gone out on July 16th, the day the great rail strike began.[11]

The lowering of wages on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, as President Garrett knew, had likewise been a source of trouble. In March, engineers and firemen had asked Franklin Gowen's general manager for a twenty per cent increase in pay to compensate for earlier cuts. The company refused to bargain on grounds that the request emanated from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, an organization allegedly behind the Boston and Maine strike, and it set out to destroy this body entirely. Actually the Brotherhood was a provident society whose conservative president, Peter Arthur, had squelched thirteen potential strikes by its members since 1876. Faced with the choice of either abandoning the union or being fired, however, seventeen per cent of the Philadelphia and Reading men struck. Since the labor market was crowded with unemployed men there was no delay in replacing them.[12]

Finally, President Garrett had evidence of the Pennsylvania Railroad's experience in wage cutting. When on June 1 President Scott announced the second ten per cent reduction since 1873, a

[10] Thomas Scott, "The Recent Strikes," *North American Review*, CXXV (Sept., 1877), 351-362. *The Nation*, Aug. 30, 1877. *American*, July 17, 1877. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877.

[11] *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 317-324. *The Nation*, Sept. 6, 1877.

[12] *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal* (Oct., 1877), XII, 463. *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 317-324.

number of distressed engineers waited on him. While Scott persuaded this group to continue working, the proposed cut provoked the formation of the Trainmen's Union at Allegheny City on June 2. Led by the Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Fort Wayne Railroad brakeman, Robert Ammon, organizers were soon recruiting members on five eastern trunk lines including the B & O. Preparations were made for a strike against these lines on June 27 but railway officials learned of the union plans and wrecked them before they matured. The abortion of the strike may well have proved as painful to the people of Pittsburgh three weeks later as would its birth, for the defeated men nursed their frustrations.[13]

In brief, Garrett realized wage cuts added to workingmen's hardships, provoked strikes, and had stimulated the growth of one union and the formation of another. Similarly it was evident that the strikes, short as they were, could be costly to the roads involved and the public. On the other hand, the strikes had been speedily broken and the men easily replaced. There was every reason to assume that labor lacked unity and was, thanks to the depression, amenable to company discipline. Setbacks of the railroad unions indicated that he not only had little to fear from them but might possibly have the opportunity to destroy them utterly.[14] Character, predilections, and the experiences of the railway industry, all led John Garrett to expect that he could master events, that there would be no serious trouble for the B & O. He was mistaken; there was serious trouble. Ultimately his judgment was vindicated insofar as he successfully regained control of the situation, but only after his railroad and society had paid a heavy price.

Evidence indicates, contrary to all past accounts, that the great rail strike did not begin in Martinsburg, West Virginia. It started, rather, at Camden Junction, two miles from Baltimore where the old main stem to Mt. Clare connected with the Washington line—a critical point through which passed all trains leaving Baltimore for Washington or the West. Shortly before noon, Monday, July 16, the day the B & O wage cut was to become effective, the

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 322-324. For descriptions of events in Pennsylvania see *Pennsylvania: Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate the Railroad Riots in July, 1877:* Legislative Doc. 29, pp. 1-1,000. Also see the highly colored account by J. A. Dacus, *Annals of the Great Strikes* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 89-143.

[14] Almont Lindsay, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, 1942), p. 7. Lindsay suggests that managers of the eastern roads felt 1877 an auspicious time to destroy the "powerful Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" which I think makes too much of their concern with the union.

fireman on Engine 32 deserted his train at this junction and other firemen soon joined him. While company agents quickly hired replacements, the strikers remained nearby to persuade their comrades to leave the trains idle.

Whatever the nature of the threats hurled, nothing more serious than a minor scuffle ensued at Camden Junction, and there was only a brief delay in the despatching of freights. Nevertheless, relying on the support of Mayor Ferdinand Latrobe,[15] the railroad called in a large force of police. Three strikers were arrested for threatening a riot, a charge which at the time appeared so ridiculous that the men retained no counsel, and police, unsure of their ability to sustain the charge, deferred trial. Additional police were meanwhile stationed strategically along the route from Camden Station to Relay. Beyond their jurisdiction at this last point, City police were ordered away the next day by an indignant Howard County judge. Anxious to nip the strike in the bud, however, the B & O responded by invoking obscure charter rights, whereby it commissioned these City employees as special railway constables and returned them to their posts—a maneuver the press immediately questioned.[16]

Throughout the day and into Monday evening, railroad officers, with the police on the alert, remained cheerfully confident despite groups of strikers who loitered near Camden Junction and the Riverside Station in South Baltimore. Before leaving the office for the day the B & O's First Vice President John King, Jr., met with Governor Carroll who felt no troops were needed at the moment. Vice President King then published one further announcement by the company restating and justifying its new wage policy, though this had no mollifying effect upon the men. Thirty-eight unconvinced engineers, in fact, soon joined hands with the striking firemen, and by 6:00 P.M. Baltimore box makers, sawyers, and fruit can makers, unable to secure their wage demands, threw in their lot with the railroad men. Whatever this portended, however, all was peaceful. Passenger trains ran unmolested and before 6:00 P.M. fifteen freight trains in three convoys moved out onto the line.[17]

[15] For Latrobe's connections with the B & O see *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (New York, 1912), II, 396-398.

[16] *American*, July 17, 18, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 18, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 728-729.

[17] *American*, July 17, 18, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 18, 1877.

Although these occurrences were intrinsically insignificant, they were revealing. First, and most obviously, the strike was a spontaneous protest of individuals against what they believed to be hard conditions and high-handed methods. Nothing sustains contentions that unionists, as such, played any part in it at all, nor is there cause for claiming the strike in Baltimore, or elsewhere on the line somewhat later, came off as a preconcerted arrangement." [18] Far beyond the narrow ambit of the unions, discontent ran wider and deeper than the complacent realized.

Second, despite the attention they received from the press and later historians, wages were not the only, or narrowly speaking, even the main issue. The strikers nurtured a host of accumulated grievances. The ten per cent reduction was indeed a serious blow, but many of the men, pitifully eager to hold their jobs in the depression, would have taken the cut obediently—except for other circumstances. If, for instance, they could have worked full time, the reduction would have been bearable. As is was, many were getting only two or three days work per week. Firemen and brakemen, moreover, having ridden their trains out on the line were often unable to return at once. They were not allowed to come back to Baltimore as passengers on other trains, for the B & O refused to issue them passes. Consequently, until they caught freight work, which was not plentiful in slack times, they were left miles out to purchase their own board and food on already trimmed wages. Coupled with the company's arbitrary classification of engineers and firemen, its promotion policies, its lack of security provisions, and the extraordinary hazards of the railway industry itself at that time, the desperation of the men is understandable.[19]

Third, and very significantly, railroad officials in dealing with the strike even in its earliest hours displayed a hair-trigger willingness to call in the authorities and an enormous confidence in their ability to manipulate them to serve company policy.

Toward 9:00 P.M. Monday matters grew more serious. The B & O's superintendent of telegraph received dispatches from Martinsburg, West Virginia, indicating that the strike had spread

[18] Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 729. Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 164, 197. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877. Dacus, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-76.

[19] See, *American*, July 17, 18, 1877; *Sun*, July 26, 1877; *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XII (1877), 448 citing the Baltimore *Gazette* on aspects of the issues.

there. Six hours by train from Baltimore, Martinsburg was an important relay station where engines and crewmen changed off. Late Monday evening more than a score of firemen deserted their engines, apparently after learning of events at Camden Junction from westbound crews. Reports arriving at Camden Station had it that a riot ensued when loyal men refused to join the strike. In addition it was reported that A. P. Shutt, the town mayor, was trying to arrest the strike's ringleaders and that crowds were growing so large that it was impossible to move freights through the yards. Up to 9:00 P.M. there were no reports of damage. Nevertheless, John King, Jr., the B & O first vice president, was alerted at his home, Chestnut Hill, and by 11:30 P.M. he was back in his office at Camden Station. Mr. King was not a man to waste time. He immediately telegraphed Governor Henry Mathews of West Virginia apprising him of the " riot " in Martinsburg, of the fact that local authorities could not suppress it. In view of this situation he asked the Governor to call out the militia to protect B & O property and to enable the company to get its trains running on schedule.[20]

Since affairs at Martinsburg had serious repercussions elsewhere, it is worth analyzing the decision to call out the West Virginia militia. What was the evidence at Camden Station of a " riot " in Martinsburg? There were no reports of actual arrests or casualties, and the reports stressed that there was no property damage. Since John King telegraphed Governor Mathews less than an hour after his return to Camden Station, no time was lost investigating the situation up the line. It was far from definite that freights were impossible to get out, for the Martinsburg authorities had made no strong attempts to move them. Despite John King's claim that he needed the militia to enable " trains " to run, only eastbound freights were not moving, and there was no way of telling how westbound freights would fare because reports of the strike at Martinsburg and a storm at Harpers Ferry kept them in Baltimore. Apparently, too, the strikers' actions showed that this was a freightman's strike against their particular lot. Crowds, threats, and scuffling there certainly was, but these

[20] *American*, July 17, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 18, 1877. George McNeill, *The Labor Movements: The Problem of Today* (Boston, 1888), pp. 154-155. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 728-729. *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 324-325. Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

things hardly suggest the work of an irrational mob, or that the men were beyond the call of reason or compromise.

It appears highly probable, moreover, that Mayor Shutt was eager to pass the responsibility for law enforcement onto the shoulders of higher authorities. In fairness it must be said the evidence is circumstantial. Nevertheless the Mayor's actions look like a reaction against his most unenviable position. As mayor of a one industry town, he was dependent on the goodwill of both the strikers and the railway officials, and was perhaps embarrassed by the fact that he and his son owned the Berkeley House, Martinsburg's main hotel, which derived its business from the railroad.

At a higher level, Governor Mathews likewise responded to the B & O summons with alacrity and without more than a cursory examination of the Martinsburg affair. His position was no happier in these circumstances, in fact, than Mayor Shutt's. An ex-Confederate and a Democrat, Mathews was new to office in a state where the B & O was a major economic and political power enjoying numerous special privileges. Whatever may appear to have motivated Governor Mathews, however, it is clear that word from a top official of the railroad stung him to action. Colonel C. J. Faulkner of the Beverly Light Infantry Guards, the Governor's aide-de-camp, received orders to go to Martinsburg and restore order not long after midnight. Somewhat confused about the chain-of-command, Faulkner then telegraphed railroad officers at Camden Station at 1.00 A.M. (Tuesday) that he would obey his orders.[21]

The determination to invoke state authority and use state troops set still more unfortunate events in motion. Early Tuesday, Faulkner's militia arrived in Martinsburg. No precise description of occcurrences thereafter is possible but a few things are unmistakably clear and a few others excite curiosity. Two attempts were made during the morning to test the temper of the strikers and to move freights. The first, conducted by Faulkner and volunteer railroad workers, resulted in the fatal shooting of a striker and the wounding of a militiaman at a ball switch, and Faulkner abandoned his attempt; the second, led by the B & O superin-

[21] On the foregoing paragraphs see, *American*, July, 18, 19, 1877; *Sun*, July 18, *Movement: The Problem of Today* (Boston, 1888), pp. 154-155. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 729-731; McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

tendent of trains fared no better, although there was no violence. A large number of trains and cars had piled up at the relay point. These things are clear.

The materials that arouse curiosity are rumors on Tuesday and press reports the next day, that Faulkner and his men were " in sympathy " with the strikers. Exactly what did *sympathy* mean? Reports that Faulkner and the West Virginia Guard had gone over to the strikers do not appear to be true. There may have been a few defections but neither Faulkner nor the rest of the command joined the railway workers at any time. Furthermore, Colonel Faulkner had made two efforts to move freights, and on one occasion a militiaman had not hesitated to fatally wound a striker. Finally, no court martial was ever convened to charge the Colonel or his men with desertion or insubordination. Faulkner probably felt that, while his force was adequate if he wanted to shoot matters out, this would result in unnecessary bloodshed, and better alternatives were still open to him. His force was in no danger. It was a railroad strike, not a civil rebellion, consequently he may have considered it wiser to await reinforcements to make it simpler to overawe the crowd peacefully. In the interim there was a good chance that things might cool down. In short, he plainly wanted time. Railway officials in Baltimore and Martinsburg, on the other hand, probably felt that Faulkner's real failure lay in trying to speak to the crowd and in not moving vigorously enough with his available force. The Baltimore press, which got much of its news from the railroad, commented not only on the sympathies of the militia but also on their " inefficiency." [22]

On Tuesday and Wednesday pressure rapidly mounted among the sleepless B & O officials in Baltimore and at Martinsburg to break the strike. Trouble, as the newspapers called it, had reached Grafton and Keyser on the B & O line in West Virginia by Tuesday afternoon, while at Cumberland, Maryland, an assemblage of unemployed men denounced capitalists and bondholders. Governor Mathews had entrained at 1:00 P.M. Tuesday from Wheeling to go to these sensitive points in West Virginia with sixty-five militiamen. He had earlier telegraphed Baltimore, however, about the inadequacy of militiamen at Martinsburg, and company officials were fearful that sixty-five additional men could

[22] *American*, July 18, 19, 20, 1877. *Sun*, July 18, 19, 1877. Allan Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 729-731. Dacus, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-36.

not guard their property. In Baltimore strikers had been orderly and police at Riverside and Mt. Clare experienced no difficulty. But early Tuesday morning an engine was derailed near Spring Gardens and, despite a complete lack of evidence, sabotage was rumored. Furthermore, several hundred trainmen who were still faithful to the company held a mass meeting at Sharp and Montgomery Streets. Moderation prevailed and they disassociated themselves even from sympathy for the men in Martinsburg. Nevertheless, they promised that unless the B & O was conciliatory about grievances, they would select their time carefully and leave the company in the lurch. Finally, as if to add to these evil omens, a meeting between Governor Mathews, Vice President Keyser and General Sharp, B & O master of transportation, on the one side and the strikers on the other, in both Grafton and Martinsburg, failed. No compromise was offered the men and exhortations did not seem an acceptable substitute.

The tough-minded, ex-Confederate B & O master of transportation, General Sharp, in company with other road officials, thereupon persuaded Governor Mathews to request Federal troops from President Hayes.[23]

Because of their seriousness, the dispatches to Washington merit comment. Governor Mathews' first telegram to President Hayes spoke of "unlawful combinations and domestic violence now existing at Martinsburg and other points" along the B & O line and of the need for troops to "protect the law-abiding people of the State against domestic violence, and to maintain the supremacy of the law." On behalf of the President, Secretary of War McCrary wired Governor Mathews that Mr. Hayes "is averse to intervention unless it is clearly shown that the State is unable to suppress *the insurrection*." [24] The Governor was told to "furnish a full statement of facts." The full statement of facts sent back to Washington was a telegram of eighty-six words which alleged the sympathy of the militia for the strikers at Martinsburg, stated the indisposition of other militia companies and concluded that there were "no organized militia in the State." Of the strike's course or of specific events in West Virginia there was no factual description whatsoever.[25]

[23] *American*, July 19, 20, 1877. *Sun*, July 19, 20, 1877. McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-157. Edward Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 323 ff.

[24] Italics mine.

[25] Cited in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 730-731. *American*, July 19, 20,

Such was the official intelligence that persuaded Federal authorities to employ national forces, a precedent that had far-reaching consequences in the next fifteen years. No doubt strikers illegally infringed on B & O property. Yet when these dispatches were sent to Washington there had been no violence, no casualties, and no injuries since the shooting at Martinsburg in the early morning. While coupling pins had been lifted by strikers at Martinsburg, and threats of injury hurled against men on trains, no company property had been damaged or even seriously tampered with. Loyal men were verbally intimidated but they were not attacked or beaten. If the Secretary of War was under the impression that there was an insurrection, he was mistaken—it was still a strike. Since Governor Mathews was able to make several arrests later on the 18th, how seriously was the supremacy of the law impaired? How urgently did "law abiding people of the State," other than the B & O, need protection against "domestic violence"? How anxious was Governor Mathews to use his powers responsibly and to what extent was he embarrassed by it?

Meanwhile, shortly after Governor Mathews' first telegram to Federal authorities, John Garrett re-entered the picture to buttress the Governor's words with his own lengthier telegram to President Hayes. Garrett also cited the impossibility of moving freights and the open intimidation of and "attacks" on loyal employees. Unless this ceased, he told the President, he apprehended "the greatest consequence . . . upon all lines in the country which, like ourselves, have been obliged to introduce measures of economy in these trying times for the preservation of the effectiveness of railway property." Resuming his old wartime demeanor he then asked the President to keep him informed of the points through which troops would be sent so that there would be no delay, suggested Fort McHenry and Washington as the best starting points, and asked for immediate action so as to "prevent the rapid increase" of "the difficulties." John Garrett's action has not been challenged seriously in subsequent years,[26] hence it is worth indicating that at least one railway officer took a dim view of it after the strike was over. "The President of the Baltimore and Ohio Company," wrote H. C. Lord, "ignores both the authority and

1877. *Sun*, July 19, 20, 1877. James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1898), VII, 446-448.

[26] See, for instance, Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 730-731.

ability of the States of Maryland and West Virginia to enforce their own laws, invites the interference of the Federal Government and with characteristic modesty suggests to the President of the United States what he should do under the circumstances." [27]

Whatever the propriety of John Garrett's telegram, it was effective. President Hayes issued his proclamation and sent troops on the 18th, and eight companies of men under General French arrived the following morning at Martinsburg. There was some difficulty locating *the insurrection*, for the soldiers and strikers met in good humor, laughing and joking with one another in the morning rain. The Army reported no violence and soon announced that it could move trains without any *physical* obstacles to stop them. Only engineers were required to get things rolling. Unfortunately even with troopers alongside the trains, these men did not come forth.[28] The alleged insurrection was still an unbroken strike against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Because decisions along the B & O line were inseparably linked with the actions and mistakes of railroad, civil, and military authorities, they caused reverberations up and down the road and across the nation. Gathering force, they culminated in the tragic Baltimore Riots of July 20-21 following the actions on the situation at Cumberland.

The " Communistic madness," as Allan Pinkerton described it, leaped from Martinsburg to Cumberland during Wednesday night, July 18. Disgruntled miners, Chesapeake and Ohio canal men, rail strikers, and their reinforcements from West Virginia and the Pittsburgh area were reported gathering there. Numbering five or six hundred, they were supposedly " armed with every conceivable weapon." Eruption of the strike at Pittsburgh on Thursday emboldened them, while dispatches about Federal troops and John Garrett's paternal gesture to reward faithful employees incensed them.[29]

Whatever its immediate spark, the first small riot resulting in serious property damage to the B & O occurred in the Cumberland Yards when box cars loaded with perishables were broken open on Friday. No one was hurt but it was a thoroughly lawless

[27] Reprinted from a letter to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* this criticism appeared in the *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XI (1877), 418-419.

[28] *American*, July 20, 1877.

[29] See, for instance, Garrett's announcement to his workers in the *American*, July 20, 1877. Dacus, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

demonstration which Mayor Withers and local police would not or could not check. Railway officials believed serious trouble to be in the offing unless the Maryland National Guard was called out. In order to accomplish this objective, therefore, company leaders counseled at 3:00 P.M. Friday with Governor John Carroll at Barnum's Hotel.[30]

Governor Carroll had already been placed under pressure to call up State troops. B & O officers had twice before during the strike urged him to do so. Less direct, though strong, pressures were also building up among businessmen and merchants, as well as the press, to put an end to the strike. The Governor had no trouble learning that " thousands of dollars were being lost every hour," that trade was being hurt by idled workers and strikers, that coal-oil refineries at Spring Gardens were facing difficulty, and that " not a few cattle, sheep, and hogs (in stalled freight cars) . . . were perishing of hunger and thirst." [31]

Yet the most formidable considerations placed before the Governor of Maryland were without question those of John W. Garrett. The historian of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad correctly assessed the relative positions of the Governors of Maryland and the President of the railroad when he wrote: " Garrett realized he must have a Governor who would be guided by him in all matters pertaining to the affairs of this great property [the B & O]. . . . To that end his agents were busily engaged in politics from one end of the State to the other and to the day of his death, the word of the President of the B & O was law to Governors, all state officials." [32] In addition, Governor Carroll had another important interest in the safety of the road, for the State of Maryland in 1877 still possessed a large financial stake in it. Given his circumstances, and the fact that most of his information on the crisis came over the railroad's telegraph, Governor Carroll, on the whole, displayed commendable forbearance in the matter of using the National Guard—more, certainly, than the executives and officials of nearby states.

The decision to order out the Guard for service in Cumberland, at 3:30 P.M. Friday, was not without its ironies. Faced with a riot in Cumberland, the failure of local authority, and threats of

[30] *Ibid.*, July 19, 20, 1877. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 156. *Sun*, July 21, 1877.
[31] Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 732. *American*, July 19, 1877. H. E. Bucholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 212-230.
[32] Edward Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 328.

worse things to come, swift, effective use of a trained militia might have curtailed damage or bloodshed. Unfortunately, while opportunities for service beckoned in Western Maryland, the regiments called up were unable to get there. The very fact that they were to be employed set the stage for further trouble, not in Cumberland but in Baltimore.

If its origins were in Cumberland, the immediate causes of the Friday rioting in Baltimore were a series of petty mistakes, the first of which was the manner in which the Fifth and Sixth Regiments were mustered. State and local officials realized that sympathy for the railroad strikers was widespread in Baltimore, that trouble might be aroused if excitement were generated by the mustering-in process. At first Governor Carroll refused to allow "Big Sam" and smaller fire bells to sound out the emergency military call. Nevertheless, General James Herbert, leader of the Guardsmen, was told by a subordinate that the emergency call would speed things up. Herbert and his staff prevailed upon the Governor again and he rather nebulously left the ringing of the 1-5-1 emergency signal to their discretion. Shortly after 6:00 P.M. Herbert, wishing to hurry things along, sounded the alarm. The bells pealed out at the worst imaginable time, as most of the City's men and boys were just leaving work, and crowds of the curious and the angry swarmed to the armories. At Camden Station where only a handful of people were congregated before the call, there were thousands in less than a half an hour.[33]

Having passed uneventfully through the crowds near Camden Station with his staff, General Herbert ordered the Guard regiments to march from their armories to join him, but poor judgment marred the handling of the Sixth Regiment. Discipline in the Fifth, it must be noted, was good. Its leader, Captain Zollinger, less than a month earlier had instituted court-martial proceedings against militiamen who refused to take their training seriously, and his command obeyed him. Marching from Richmond Market, the Fifth was heavily stoned near Camden Street but it managed without shooting or injuring any of its attackers to get into the depot. A crowd of several thousand persons had meanwhile gathered before the Sixth Regiment Armory at Fayette and Front Streets, and elements in the mob began an assault.

[33] *American*, July 21, 1877. *Sun*, July 17, 21, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 732-734. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Paving stones from a repaired gas line were thrown, incoming soldiers were mauled, and initial efforts by the troops to march out were turned back. Because of the many men detailed to guard railway properties, police at Central Station were unable to aid the militia, and no call for help from the Fifth Regiment appears to have gone out. Neither did officers of the Sixth think it wise to make a defense from within the Armory. Instead those companies supposed to entrain for Cumberland were piecemeal led out into the mob and were marched on separate routes to Camden Station. Inevitably a series of minor tragedies ensued. Tracked, stoned, believing themselves fired upon by the crowd, the frightened and separated companies, without orders, commenced firing at will. By the time they reached Camden Station in " demoralized " condition, it was discovered that none of their men was shot, and fewer were injured by stones than in the Fifth, but at least thirty-five of the mob, some mere bystanders, were casualties—ten of them dead.[34]

Under the spires of the B & O headquarters in Camden Station, many of the civil, military, and railroad officials who had contributed to the events stretching back to the previous Monday were together in the subsequent hours of crisis: John King, Jr., and a staff of weary railroad officers, Mayor Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Governor Carroll, General Herbert, and police officials. Outside the Station was a threatening crowd of perhaps fifteen thousand people which reached from Camden Street on the north to Lee Street on the south. Inside there was much understandable confusion. The Mayor and the Governor almost immediately determined to retain the Guardsmen destined for Cumberland, though they probably could not have gone anyway, for there is evidence some tracks had already been torn up in Camden yards. Over the next critical hours it was not the militia, in any event, who kept the situation from becoming disastrous, but the police. Unable because of their dispersement to check the first incidents

[34] Descriptions of the Friday Riot are numerous, detailed, and confused. See, *American*, July 21, 22, 1877; *Sun*, July 21, and the Extra of July 22, 1877; Telegrams of G. Abell to Arunah Abell for July 21, 1877 in Maryland Historical Society; John Thomas to General William Barry, U. S. A., telegram 2:30 A.M., July 20 and 11:20 P.M., July 20, 1877 in *Barry Papers*, Maryland Historical Society. Also see, Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 734-737; and Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 792-794. There is interesting, though confused, testimony on events in the hearings of the coroner's jury in Baltimore, cited in *American*, Aug. 4, 1877. Dacus, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

at the Sixth Regiment Armory that had touched off the calamities earlier, they proved to be the sole effective force at Camden Station. At last, the policy of heavily guarding B & O property was bearing fruit.

A preparatory move by the B & O to call for the use of federal troops in Maryland began even prior to the rioting of 8:00 P.M., since at 4:00 P.M. John King, Jr. had telegraphed General William Barry at Fort McHenry, in behalf of U. S. Collector Thomas, asking that extra vigilance and a " sufficient guard " be used on U. S. Government *and* B & O bonded warehouses at Locust Point." [35] Fire on a passenger platform, destruction of a telegrapher's office and several engines and cars in the yards, plus the menace of the mob, by 10:00 P.M. made a direct appeal for Federal help irresistible. Governor Carroll, as a consequence, telegraphed President Hayes for aid.

The Governor's telegram bears scrutiny for it reflects an accumulation of pressures as well as the exigencies of the moment. President Hayes was informed that the rioters could not be dispersed with any force at Carroll's command, that they had " *taken possession* of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad depot, set fire to same, and *driven off all firemen* who attempted to extinguish the flames." Was that, indeed, the situation? The Governor had a large force of perhaps 300 to 350 policemen and militiamen at his command. Captain Zollinger's men had proven extremely competent and the press later spoke of the way policemen " awed " the crowd. No effort seems to have been made to employ the men in the depot as a force to drive off the rioters. Militiamen as a group were primarily spectators of events from the platforms and from inside the depot. Their presence angered the mob and Governor Carroll appeared unwilling to risk taking responsibility for using them to apply maximum force. Moreover, rioters had not " taken possession " of the depot. There were fires, to be sure, but firemen had with difficulty extinguished them.[36] Whatever questions may be raised by the Governor's action, it was politically astute. He had won time, spared himself grave and perhaps in-

[35] John King to Gen. Wm. Barry, telegram 4:00 P.M., July 20, 1877 in *Barry Papers*.

[36] Italics in all above quotations are mine. The dispatches are cited in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 737. Carroll's telegram on that page should be dated July 20 not July 28. *American*, July 21, 22, 1877. *Sun*, July 21, 22, 1877, Richardson, *op. cit.*, VII, 448.

humane decisions, and also followed railroad policy. How aware of this he was at the time, however, can never be known.

In perspective, Federal assent to Governor Carroll's request appears to have been the turning point in the course of the B & O strike. Support by Federal troops, first in West Virginia, then in Maryland, meant that the B & O could not lose the contest. Federal intervention in these critical states provided the key to railroad labor difficulties. It hardly mattered that the emergency at Camden Station was so short-lived that by 1:30 A.M. Saturday morning, less than three hours after the call for help went out, the mob had departed, or that Carroll modified his policy and announced the restoration of order at 3:00 A.M. before any Federal troops arrived.[37]

During the next ten days the strike in Maryland slowly petered out. To be sure, Saturday evening (the 21st) brought another riot at Camden Station, attacks on railway property at several points in the City, and considerable damage. Likewise, the same night it inspired a number of dramatic telegrams from the authorities in the Station to General Barry at Fort McHenry. But with Federal power standing by, police handled the mob effectively and rounded up its ringleaders—none of whom were strikers—in droves. On Sunday between 1,200 and 2,000 Federal soldiers were concentrated in or near Baltimore, while local forces had been swelled by citizen recruits. That evening at 7:00 P.M. Arunah Abell, who was being kept alert to all developments, learned by wire that the worst was over and that public sentiment for law and order was being strongly asserted. Railroad officials, subsequently, had little trouble identifying public safety with the safety of railway property, or in manipulating Federal troops accordingly. When General French, commander of the Federal soldiers in Western Maryland, refused to be ordered about by Colonel Sharp, the B & O's master of transportation, and by company agents, he was replaced and thereafter all went well. Troops were kept busy by numerous incidents as they shuttled from place to place opening the line, but towards the end of the week, Vice President Keyser of the B & O, fully confident that the strikers were beaten, began explaining to them why the company could not yield to their demands. Baltimore businessmen

[37] G. Abell to Arunah Abell, telegram, July 22, 1877 in the Maryland Historical Society. *American*, July 21, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 736.

sensed a full settlement—and they were not disappointed. On the 25th all along the line men were coming back. The following Wednesday, August 1, John Garrett stated that nearly all lines were operative, and Thursday, with 125 trains on the B & O road, all was normal.[38]

A local affair at its inception, the B & O strike influenced similar strikes in fourteen states. In two weeks it had assumed all the characteristics of a major national problem. A phenomenon of these proportions deserves some overall analysis.

Reviewing the courses pursued by railroad officials, it is evident that their intransigent stand on wages and grievances touched off, sustained, and prolonged the strike, that throughout the conflict their decisions were oriented around the persistent search for public authority sufficiently powerful to crush the strike without concessions.

This assuredly does not warrant conclusions, however, that the actions of these leaders were sinister, on the one hand, or a tough-minded defense of economic liberty on the other. Men's motivations and the strike itself were too complex to yield such simple judgments. More to the point, what must pass as public sentiment in 1877 was divided in its evaluation of the affair. As might have been expected, there was applause from financial and business interests for the position taken by the B & O and other embattled roads. Criticisms about these stands seemed to one editor merely a part of the "inevitable prejudice against corporations."[39] But sanction for railroad policy also came from liberal sources. *The Nation* declared editorially that, "What is to be feared is that through some weakness on the part of the companies, the strikers may come out of this struggle with an appearance of victory," adding, "We are not likely to see soon again a crisis in which liberty and civilization are both more at stake than they are now."[40] Conversely there was at least one vocal railroad official who believed that "the fault lies with the railway managers who have defied all established maxims . . . of business procedure . . . who have quarreled among themselves and inaugu-

[38] See accounts in *American* and *Sun*, July 22-Aug. 6, 1877; *Barry Papers*, July-August, 1877; *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 324-365; Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-364; McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162; *The Nation*, July 26, 1877; Telegrams of G. Abell to A. Abell in Maryland Historical Society.

[39] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877.

[40] *The Nation*, July 26, 1877.

rated a policy . . . of rivalry and competition. destructive of the property they were pledged to protect," who "practice a false economy" and refuse to "reform themselves." [41] On both sides there were mixed emotions and cherished principles.

Conclusions reached by a Pennsylvania legislative body after investigations of the strike in that State may well point up the dominant strain of thought elsewhere. To the suggestion that any corporation has the right to pay wages as it pleases, and to require such services for the money paid as it chooses, the investigators replied, "This rule must be received with considerable modification in the case of a great corporation, receiving special privileges from the State, and employing thousands of men scattered from one end of the State to another." [42] Going a bit further in the same direction, a Republican State Convention in Ohio—where the B & O strike affected several cities—heard pleas for an end to reckless railway competition and adopted a plank calling for the assumption by Congress "of general supervisory authority over railroads." [43] In Pennsylvania, a Democratic Convention charged capital was too heavily favored in the nation and urged state control of railways.[44] It was years before these trends crystallized in practical form but in places like Cumberland where food grew short, in Baltimore where trade atrophied, or in Anne Arundel and other countries where melons and produce could not be shipped, men awoke to the growing interdependence of their lives.[45]

Because of the rapidity and violence with which it grew, the strike momentarily revealed to nearly everyone the hardships not only of railway workers but of many others as well. Articulate people, including railroad leaders, all realized that the depression brought great suffering. Despite loose denunciations of the strikers as "communists" or of their actions as "war" and "insurrection," a Baltimore merchant probably expressed the more commonly held view when he declared: "The strike is not a revolution of fanatics willing to fight for an idea. It is a revolt of workingmen against low prices of labor which have not been

[41] *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XI (Sept. 1877), 419.
[42] *Annual Report, Pa., Part III, Vol. IX*, 360.
[43] *The Nation*, Aug. 9, 1877.
[44] *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1877.
[45] For instance see, *Sun*, July 26, 1877 and *American*, July 22, 26, 30, 1877.

accompanied with correspondingly low prices of food, clothing, and house rent." [46]

It by no means followed that recognition of suffering brought respect for the manner in which labor bore its cross. On the contrary, even among trade unionists, the opinion was almost unanimous that the strike was foolish and likely to increase the misery of the workingman's lot. Peter Arthur, leader of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers put the case very strongly, insisting railroad workers had " no cause for such a course," and charging that they had embarked upon a " cowardly policy " by taking " so powerful advantage as such dishonorable action would give." Moreover he threatened the expulsion of all engineers who joined the strikers and promised the public: " they shall be punished." [47] From no quarter, of course, was there sanction for the " saturnalia of violence and pillage " that came in many places as a concomitant of the strike, nor did sympathizers with hardpressed workers hesitate to make it clear that pity for the rioter was " not incompatible with the sternness that meets him with bullets." [48] Fortunately, before the strike was over, there was general agreement that the rioting was not the work of railroad men or of unionists (as arrests in Baltimore, for instance, proved) but the deed, rather, of congenital troublemakers and toughs.[49]

No conditions were more pitilessly bared to public scrutiny during the course of events than the divisions between workingmen. Despite risks and low wages the vast majority of railroad workers remained loyal to the B & O and other companies. It was the critical services of the men who struck, more than their number, that crippled the industry. Never did the companies have trouble hiring as many scabs as they wanted. The wonder is, in fact, that the stoppage of rail transportation was so complete. Furthermore, after the first days of the strike workingmen who had walked off their jobs stood friendless and alone. Given Peter Arthur's views above, there was scarcely any hope of real aid from his union and things were viewed no differently in the few other railway organizations of the day. A young official of the Locomotive Firemen's Union, Eugene Debs, confused and

[46] *Sun*, July 25, 1877.
[47] *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XII (Oct. 1877), 463.
[48] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 28, 1877.
[49] For example see *American*, July 23, 1877.

stung by events, cautioned organized firemen that " a strike at the present time signifies anarchy and revolution." [50] Even Robert Ammon, the Trainmen's leader whom Allan Pinkerton so heartily vilified, kept trains on his division running, and soon worked so closely with railroad and local officials that his men deposed him.[51] What had begun as a strike of individuals remained so, and the price paid for courage and tenacity was discharge and the blacklist.

Serious as labor's disunity may have been, the public was made aware of the fact that the nation had produced a " native proletariat " and a labor problem that challenged constructive thinking. On August 30, as a result of the strike Charles Francis Adams, Jr., brought forward a program designed to remedy the railroads' neglect of adequate wage, promotion, or benefit policies. Several small Mid-western roads, fearing an outbreak of trouble, actually made concessions to their men and tried to improve their state, while the B & O, perhaps as a result of the strike, set up a relief and benefit department in 1880. Strife quite naturally raised discussion of industrial peace and there were a number of arbitration proposals, one of them proffered by the Baltimore *American* during and after the strike. Politicians were also stimulated to give labor more attention and there was a flurry of " reform " and " workingmen's " candidates in Baltimore and in other cities for the next few years. Inevitably there were a number of political welfare programs cast up. Congressman Hendricks Wright called upon his colleagues to appropriate ten million dollars for immediate distribution among needy workers. Greeted with derision, the plan would have seemed somewhat less ridiculous in the mid-nineteen thirties. Other proposals, of varying degrees of intelligence, sincerity, and practicality, called for the payment of minimum wages, profit-sharing, co-operation, and the creation of a National Bureau of Industry. Regardless of their intrinsic merit, and it was not invariably great, these ideas at least served as a temporary antidote to complacency.[52]

Tested at all levels by the strike, Government became a major

[50] Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* (New Brunswick, 1949), p. 24.

[51] *Annual Report. Pa. Part III, Vol. IX*, 345-347. Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[52] *The Nation*, Aug. 2, 9, 16, 30, 1877. *American*, July 22, 25, 1877. *Locomotive Engineers Monthly Journal*, XII (Oct. 1877), contained a variety of suggestions. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 741-743.

focus of debate. Controversy for the most part revolved around the extent of governmental inefficiency and failure. Since the railroads operated interstate empires and were forced to cope with an interstate strike, their managers and directors almost instinctively felt that local authorities were useless for railroad purposes. Well satisfied when Federal aid arrived, rail officials nevertheless deplored the time they had been obliged to wait. Doubtless speaking for many others in the industry, the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad wrote after the strike that a larger and better dispersed Federal Army was essential and that Congress should provide a law permitting courts to issue injunctions or to call out Federal troops as soon as rail traffic was interfered with by "unlawful combinations." If Baltimore was typical, there were many other businessmen who showed surprising readiness to invite Federal interposition. Some observers challenged these approaches by reviving traditional fears of military usurpation, but there was wide agreement in Maryland and outside of the State as well, that civil government had proven a failure in the crisis, that police, despite yeoman service in Baltimore, were inadequate in numbers, and militiamen thoroughly unreliable. A few critics implied that railroads were, ironically, reaping what they had sown and blamed the anemia of the civil authorities on their selection and domination by rail chieftains. Practically no one commented on the surprising vigor displayed by law-abiding Baltimoreans and ordinary citizens elsewhere as they squelched rioting and buttressed civil order, nor on society's good fortune that the unrest was not directed against existing social and political institutions.[53]

[53] See comments in the *Sun* and *American*, July 23-Aug. 6, 1877. *The Nation*, Aug. 2, 9, 1877. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 742. *Annual Report, Pa. Part III, Vol. IX*, 360-365.

BURLEIGH MANOR IN HOWARD COUNTY

By Francis C. Haber *

THE NAME of Hammond is well-known to countless tourists and House and Garden "pilgrims" who have visited the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis. This outstanding example of the best in colonial American architecture was built by Matthias Hammond (1740-1786) between 1770 and 1774 for, it is said, a prospective bride who rejected him because he lavished more care and attention on the house than on his courtship. Less well-known, but another monument to the good taste in architecture of the Hammond family, is Burleigh Manor in Howard County, built by Colonel Rezin Hammond (1745-1809), brother of Matthias. It is about fifteen miles west of downtown Baltimore on U. S. Route 40 and a few miles south of Pine Orchard on Centennial Lane.

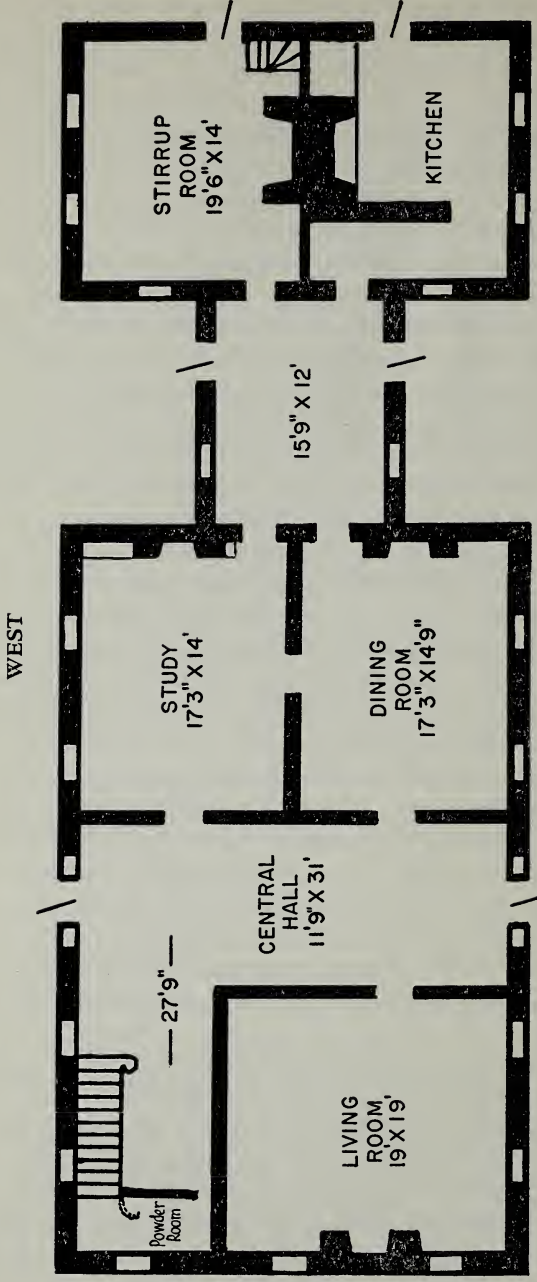
From Centennial Lane, the house, a full two-story brick building with one wing on the north side, is clearly visible through its surrounding shade trees. At some time in the past the brickwork was painted yellow. It is difficult to imagine how a bright coat of yellow could have improved the appearance of the house, but now that it has almost weathered away, in the sunlight the trace of yellow on the red bricks gives to the building a soft, mellow warmth. From a distance the brick appears as a subdued golden red which softens the texture of the building and its angular lines.

* The author wishes to express his appreciation to the many individuals who assisted him in the pursuit of information about Burleigh Manor. The present owners, Mr. and Mrs. George Dudley Iverson, merit special thanks for their wholehearted cooperation. Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who was President of the Board of Trustees of St. Timothy's School when it purchased Burleigh, kindly made records in his possession available and also gave many helpful suggestions. Miss Laura Hanna and Mrs. John Breckinridge also kindly lent materials in their possession. The expert architectural knowledge of John Henry Scarff was freely drawn upon, but he is not responsible for statements or expressions in the text. He does support the conviction that Burleigh house was built after 1800, however. The Hall of Records and the Land Office, as usual, were most helpful.

The weathering of the paint has also brought back the antique appearance of the brickwork so that it does not clash with the old stone meat house and weathered outbuildings. One log and stone building in particular, built in 1820 as a work house for the slaves, which stands near the entrance to the driveway, lends an ante bellum plantation atmosphere to the estate.

The countryside in this part of Howard County presents a panorama of gently rolling fertile fields and patches of woodland into which the house blends with just enough elevation above the nearby fields to mark it as the seat of the estate. At one time a captain's walk extended between the double chimneys of the main building, and from this vantage point, reached through the attic, most of the estate could be brought under surveillance. From the lawn, the lands of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's Doughoregan Manor can be seen in the distance on the northwest boundary. In the same direction, but closer, along a grove of trees, the outline of the Old Annapolis Road on which Charles Carroll traveled from his doorstep at Doughoregan to Annapolis is visible where it cuts diagonally across the lands below the house. This old road has been blocked off for many years and is now officially closed, but when the present house was built on Burleigh it was the principal highway to the estate. A driveway ran from the Old Annapolis Road up to the south end of the building and there are remains of this old driveway still in evidence.

Centennial Lane was laid out on a north-south line through the lands of Burleigh Manor in 1876 as a shorter route between the Clarksville and Ellicott City Turnpike (now old U. S. Route 29) and the Frederick Turnpike (U. S. Route 40). It passed about 800 feet to the east of the house and necessitated changing the main driveway to the east side. Maple and locust trees were set out to flank the new drive between the house and Centennial Lane. The driveway is straight between the Lane and the circular drive of the front lawn, but whether by accident or design, it runs to the northward at a slight angle to the façade of the house. The central windows and the doorways are not centered on the axis of the building, probably because more space was needed on one side for the living room, but this is not especially noticeable on the west side where there is only a platform before the doorway. On the east side, however, the porch roof and columns, standing so close to the inner windows, invite attention to the fact that the



FLOOR PLAN OF BURLEIGH MANOR HOUSE

entranceway is off-center when observed at a short distance away and facing the house squarely. Yet approaching the house by the driveway, the porch seems in perspective to be perfectly centered because of an optical illusion. Although the side of the house left of the doorway is a foot wider than the corresponding side on the right, from the angle of the drive, the eye sees the left front corner of the porch projected to the left just enough to cover the excess width of the house on that side. If the driveway was deliberately laid out to create this effect, it would indicate that the porch had been added to the house prior to 1876 when the driveway approach was shifted from west to east.

The principal entrance to the house may have been shifted from west to east as well as the approach in 1876. Certainly the west side is more attractive now, largely because the beautiful doorway on this side is not obscured by a porch as is the case on the east side. It is more probable, however, that the east side has always been the principal entrance. The brickwork of the east side of the main building, the hyphen, and the wing is laid in Flemish bond, while on the west it is common bond. Since Flemish bond was more difficult to lay and more highly esteemed than common bond, it was generally reserved for the façade when not used throughout a building. The old drive may have swung around the south end of the house to the east entrance, and the porch, which hides the arch of the east doorway, was probably not a part of the original plan.

The builder of the house, Colonel Rezin Hammond, son of Philip,[1] was an ardent patriot during the American Revolution. He headed a party from Severn River which participated in burning the *Peggy Stewart* on October 19, 1774, and he played an active part in the military and political affairs of the state during and after the Revolution. The *Maryland Gazette* summarized his career in the following obituary: [2]

> During the American Revolution, he evinced a sincere and ardent attachment to his country's cause, by heading "a little warrior band,"

[1] He signed "son of Philip" to distinguish himself from his cousin Rezin Hammond, son of Nathan. It is interesting to note, in connection with the legend that Colonel Rezin built the house in 1760 for a prospective bride, that Rezin, son of Nathan, married Rebecca Hawkins on Sept. 2, 1760. The maiden name of the bride's mother was Rachel Burley. See Harry Wright Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 203, and *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1760.

[2] *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1809.

who, devoted to their leader, were with him ready at the call of danger to engage in her defence. Amongst the names of those who composed our convention is found that of the deceased. For several years he was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens to represent them in the State Legislature. At an advanced period of his life, he retired from the turmoil of the world to the peaceful quiet of his farm.

Howard County was still a part of Anne Arundel County, and the Hammonds were one of the largest, wealthiest and most influential families of Anne Arundel, when in 1796 Rezin Hammond patented "Hammond's Inheritance," [3] upon which the present house of Burleigh Manor stands. Like his brother Matthias, Colonel Rezin Hammond remained a bachelor, and the legend has survived that it was for the same reason. Rezin is supposed to have built the house in 1760 for a bride-to-be who changed her mind. The tale of thwarted love may have been true, and Rezin may have built a house in 1760 in anticipation of a wedding, but it is unlikely that the present structure was that house. Although the present building is a two-story brick structure, in the 1798 Tax Assessment Record for Elkridge Hundred the dwelling house of Rezin Hammond on Hammond's Inheritance was listed as a framed house, one story, twenty-four by eighteen feet, occupied by Absalom Anderson. The buildings listed on the estate were: [4]

1 Fraimed dwelling House 24 by 18 feet 1 Story
1 log kichen 20 by 16 feet
1 log D[itt]o 16 feet Square
1 log House 24 by 10 feet
1 Log D[itt]o 20 feet Square
1 log D[itt]o 16 by 24 feet
1 Log D[itt]o 16 by 14 feet
1 log Stable 30 Feet Square with 3 sheds
1 Fraimed Barn 32 by 24 feet Shed on 3 Sides
1 log Tob[acc]o House 64 by 24 feet 1 log D[itt]o 56 by 20 feet
2 D[itt]o D[itt]o 28 by 24 feet
1 Stone Meat House 12 Feet Square

Hammond's Inheritance in the assessment is further identified by the statement that it adjoined the property of Vachel Dorsey; the 1796 patent shows the lands of Vachel Dorsey on the southwest edge of Hammond's Inheritance. The assessment also gives an acreage of 2348 as compared with 2348¾ in the patent. Other properties belonging to Rezin Hammond in Elkridge Hundred

[3] Liber I. C. No. L., folio 190 ff. Land Office, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[4] U. S. Tax Assessment Records, 1798, Elkridge and Elkridge Landing, Anne Arundel Co., Maryland Historical Society.

are listed in the assessment records, but none of these other holdings are close enough to Hammond's Inheritance to be confused with it. Some doubt was cast on the identity of Burleigh Manor with Hammond's Inheritance at a later date because of missing documents when the property was partitioned, but initialed stone markers were found on the boundaries of Burleigh Manor which corresponded to those described in the original patent.[5]

Some of the lands out of which Hammond's Inheritance was erected were in the possession of the Hammond family for a long time before the 1796 patent, and this explains the choice of the name Hammond's *Inheritance*. The stone meat house mentioned in the 1798 assessment is probably the same one now standing near the north end of the house. Though partially remodeled, it still contains a stone bearing the date 1720. But, lacking proof to the contrary, it seems certain that the present brick dwelling was constructed after 1798. The detailed accuracy of the tax assessment records for Elkridge Hundred makes it extremely unlikely that a two-story brick building would have been overlooked.

Rezin Hammond is said to have "observed his *brother's* large family and told him not to worry about the future of at least one of his sons—that he, Rezin, would provide for him; and, being a bachelor and very well endowed with this world's goods, too, there is no doubt that he could afford to do so. Denton was the son who was the recipient of his favors."[6] The fact of the matter is that Rezin's "brother" in the above account was his nephew Philip (17—-1826).[7] Furthermore Philip was not destitute and held some 10,000 acres of land, but it is undoubtedly true that Colonel Rezin Hammond offered to provide for both Denton (1785-1813) and Matthias (17—-1819), sons of his nephew Philip.

In his will, made in 1808, just a year before his death, the Colonel left to Denton Hammond 4,656 acres out of a total of more than 10,700 acres. To Matthias he left 4,479 acres, in which was included Hammond's Inclosure "being my dwelling planta-

[5] Title search records for Burleigh Manor in possession of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

[6] John Martin Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia and London, 1914), p. 107. The story is also mentioned in Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 135, and in her article in the Baltimore *Sunday Sun*, "The Hammond's of Early Maryland," Sept. 8, 1929.

[7] The relationship is expressly stated by Colonel Rezin in his will of July 10, 1808. Anne Arundel Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 2, folio 469 ff., Hall of Records.

tion." This latter property was near Millersville and the ancestral graveyard at Gambrills where Rezin was buried. Although Denton did not acquire title to Hammond's Inheritance until the death of Rezin, he probably was in occupancy of it earlier. Since the Colonel was obviously providing for the future of Matthias and Denton, and since Matthias was to receive his own dwelling plantation, what more fitting event than the marriage of Denton to Sarah Hall Baldwin in 1805 for Colonel Rezin to build a suitable house for his other great-nephew? It is a striking fact that the architecture of the Burleigh Manor house and its interior woodwork corresponds most closely to similar buildings constructed shortly after 1800.[8]

Before leaving Colonel Rezin Hammond, it is worth mentioning that his generosity was not restricted to his great-nephews. The will of the old patriot who fought for the principles of liberty and freedom is a noble expression of compassion for the lot of the negro slave. In 1798 he was the second largest slaveholder in Anne Arundel County with a total of 169 slaves, 98 of whom were between the ages of twelve and fifty.[9] Charles Carroll of Carrollton was first with 125 between the ages of twelve and fifty and a total of 248. At Rezin Hammond's death in 1809 he owned but two less slaves than in 1798, and he made provision for the manumission of all of them. Certain families and favored individuals (affecting thirty-two of his slaves) were presented with means of maintaining their freedom far in excess of the usual practise. Among these, Blacksmith Edmond was given the tools with which he was accustomed to work, a horse, cow, one sow and six pigs, ten barrels of corn, five barrels of wheat and ten acres of land. To several others he gave not only ten acres of land, a work horse, plow and gear, live stock, grain and household utensils, but a tenement as well. A final touch of warm affection for a slave was revealed when he gave to his waiting man his " Dutch Gun," powder horn, shot bag, cider mill and cider casks, mementos of a sporting life which they had shared.

[8] Since the date of building the house is so much in doubt, any concrete information which would help establish it would be welcomed. The burned oyster shell type of plaster and split oak lathes used in the construction are typical of eighteenth-century buildings, but their use extended into the early nineteenth century, so that, too, is not conclusive. However, it is possible that the house was commenced earlier and was not completed until after 1800. Perhaps unfinished buildings were not included in tax assessments.

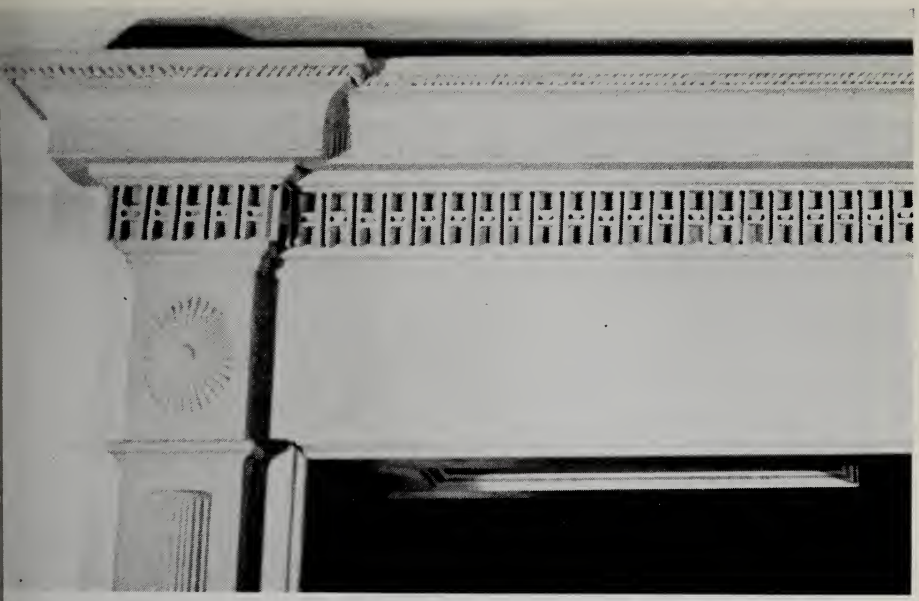
[9] U. S. Tax Assessment Records, 1798, list of slaves, Anne Arundel Co.

WEST ENTRANCE

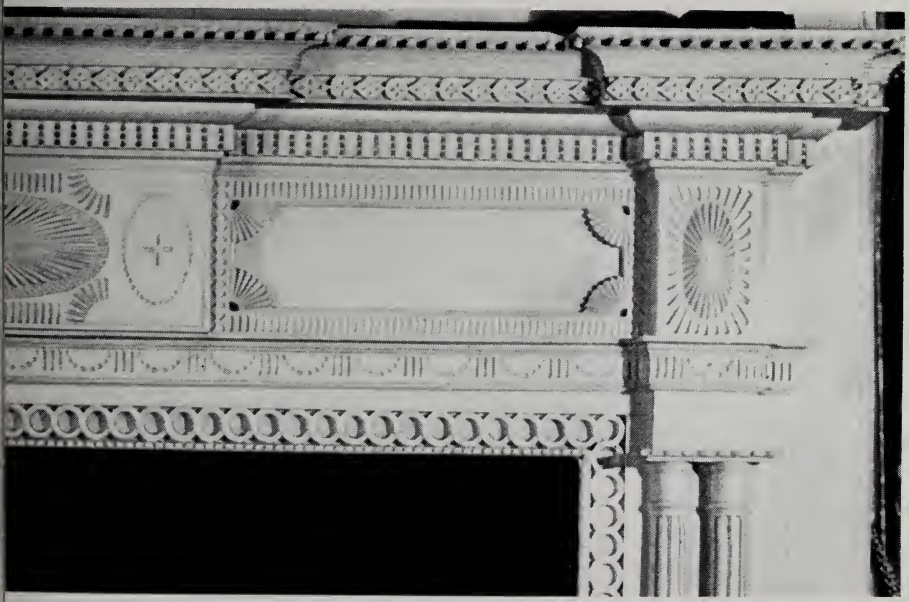
Photos by Jack Engemann

SOUTH WALL OF LIVING ROOM

Above the mantel is a portrait of Mr. Iverson's great-great-grandfather, Humphrey H. Keebl (1800-1874), planter and ship-owner, Gwynn's Island, Va. On the mantel is a miniature c Lydia Lee, daughter of Major John Lee of Virginia and among Mr. Iverson's ancestors. Sh was born at Fells Point and died in 1831.



Detail of carving in doorway between Hall and Living Room. Note the beautiful sunburst nd the incorporation of the Hammond initial H in the design of the frieze. The cable and he alternate stars and "stripes" are repeated on the woodwork in the Living Room.



Detail of the fireplace mantel. Note the oval sunbursts in the center and at the corner f the frieze, also the four quarter sunbursts in the panel between.

WEST ENTRANCE DOORWAY

Short spikes on the " sun " can be seen at the center of the fanlight. These are supposed to represent the rays of the setting sun. The east fanlight is identical, except that instead of the spikes it has loops to represent the rising sun. The doors are double paneled. The glass in the windows is hand-blown. The elliptical arch of the Hall (described in the text) and the rest of the trim of the Hall is painted " palace ballroom blue." The walls are oyster white.

Denton Hammond died intestate on March 23, 1813, and letters of administration were taken out on his estate by his widow as guardian of the children Matthias, Elizabeth and Camilla Hammond. A valuation of the estate returned in 1817 described among other buildings "a brick dwelling house, 56 by 48 ft., in good repair." [10] One dimension at least in this report fits the present house and it is probably the same structure which was described.

Sometime between 1828 and 1832 Denton's estate was partitioned between his three children, but title searches made in connection with litigation in 1928 failed to uncover the record or the original papers relating to the partition. Hammond's Inheritance was broken up, and from a mortgage to Elizabeth's husband, Richard Cromwell, Jr., in 1848, the information is given that the commissioners appointed to divide the estate of Denton gave to Matthias the farm, plantation, and a tract of 1100 acres out of Hammond's Inheritance.

Burleigh Manor remained in the hands of Colonel Matthias (a title acquired in the Civil War) until his death on August 6, 1882,[11] although the estate was subject to mortgages. The Colonel was a colorful figure, over six feet tall and heavily built, who, it is said, tried to continue the life of a wealthy ante bellum planter after the Civil War when his estate would no longer support it. Richard Cromwell, Jr., his sister's husband, had helped the Colonel in financial crises, and Cromwell was named as the executor and eventual heir of the estate. The Colonel's wife, Clara Stocksdale Hammond, was to enjoy the property during her life and then it was to be held in trust for his daughter Grace until her death.

Clara Hammond died in 1913 and Grace was mistress of Burleigh Manor until 1928, when it was put up for sale to settle the claims of the Cromwell heirs. At this point, it might be well to mention that Matthias always referred to Burleigh Manor as Hammond's Inheritance. When the name Burleigh came into existence, and why, remain shrouded in mystery. Residents of Howard County remember the estate being called Burleigh during the life

[10] Title search records. There may have been a scribal error in the recording of the dimensions. A "3" is easily confused with "5" in manuscript and if the dimensions read 36 by 48 feet it would closely fit the present house.

[11] His obituary appears in the *Sun*, Aug. 7, 1882. He was buried in a small graveyard on Burleigh Manor. To his right are buried his wife, Clara, died Nov. 14, 1913, and his daughter Grace, died May 27, 1928, and on his left, his daughter Mary, died Aug. 15, 1865, and his housekeeper Anna E. Hackney, died July 19, 1907. In his will, Matthias had left provision that the latter should be maintained from the estate during her life.

of Grace Hammond, but not as Burleigh Manor. It was not a true manor, as some Maryland estates were, and it is believed that the " Manor " was added in an attempt to glamorize the property when it was put up for sale after 1928.

Burleigh Manor was finally purchased by Charles McAlpin Pyle in 1935.[12] The house was run down, any gardens which may have surrounded it had long since been broken up by the plow, and the estate had been reduced to 606 acres. Pyle undertook the restoration of the house and modernization of facilities at considerable expense. His family in New York were identified with wealthy soap, hotel and tobacco interests, and he was enamoured with the idea of becoming a country squire in the foxhunting countryside of Howard County. The most apparent effect of his restoration of the house can be seen in the " Stirrup Room," which was at one time the great kitchen in the wing. He restored the large fireplace as closely as possible to its original state, paneled the room in knotty pine, and hung up a stirrup as the symbol of the room. The Howard County Hunt Club had been organized in October, 1930, and as a member, Pyle would invite the club to have refreshments in the Stirrup Room after the horses had been stabled.

In 1940 Pyle leased Burleigh Manor to Rigan McKinney,[13] whose skill at cross-country riding was nationally known, but McKinney's stay proved to be brief, for at the beginning of the following year Pyle had sold Burleigh Manor to Mrs. Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., of Philadelphia, for her son-in-law and daughter, Prince Alexandre Hohenlohe of Poland and Princess Peggy.[14] The Prince had met Peggy Schulze when Mr. Biddle, her stepfather, was American Ambassador to Poland. After the Nazi invasion of his country, Prince Alexandre fled from his feudal home and 50,000 acres to Paris where he joined the Biddles. He married Peggy in Paris and took a post as attache at the Polish Embassy in Washington. The Howard County countryside appealed to him, and despite the lament of Cholly Knickerbocker, speaking for New York society, that all the glamor of Peggy " will be hidden away ' down on the farm '—in Maryland," the

[12] *Sun*, Mar. 2, 1935. Title search records.
[13] *Sunday Sun*, June 9, 1940.
[14] Title search records. Newspaper accounts state that Prince Hohenlohe made the purchase, but it was Margaret T. Biddle who purchased the estate from the Pyles, and she conveyed it to her daughter Peggy Hohenlohe, Feb. 5, 1943. The Prince does not seem to have held title to the property directly. See Baltimore *News-Post*, Feb. 1, 1941; *Sunday Sun*, Feb. 2, 1941, New York *Herald Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1941.

Hohenlohes established themselves at Burleigh Manor. The major innovations of the Hohenlohes at Burleigh Manor, besides the foreign title, were the additions of a swimming pool and tennis court to the grounds and a nursery in the attic.

After the war Burleigh Manor no longer suited the needs of the Hohenlohes [15] and it was sold to St. Timothy's School in 1946. However, the School decided that it was not suitable because of insufficient room, and after acquiring the present location in the Greenspring Valley, sold it to the present owner, George Dudley Iverson, in 1950. The opportunity to acquire Burleigh Manor was to Mr. Iverson the fulfillment of a cherished hope. He had seen the estate just prior to going overseas in World War II and decided at that time that this was the place he would like most to own.

Fully aware of the historic value of his new home, Mr. Iverson has moved cautiously in bringing back Burleigh Manor to its original state as nearly as present conditions would allow. He engaged landscape architect Alden Hopkins, well-known for his work in the restoration of the gardens and grounds of Colonial Williamsburg, to lay out the grounds of Burleigh Manor, and this project is now well under way. A paddock fence with hand-turned locust posts has been erected around the driveway, new trees and shrubs set out, brick and picket garden walls put up at the ends of the house, brick walks started, and brick gutters placed along the house. When completed the appearance of the house will be greatly enhanced by the improvements in the grounds.

Inside the house Mr. Iverson has made few changes. With meticulous attention to the existing carved woodwork and mouldings of the room, a set of bookshelves was designed and built in the study. The entire woodwork of the study was then painted "Raleigh Tavern blue" to contrast with the oyster white of the walls. Typical of Mr. Iverson's appreciation for the original plan of the house has been his selection of paint in re-decorating. He made studies of plaster in the house and, with help from Colonial Williamsburg, found a color which it is believed would match the appearance of the original unpainted oyster shell plaster used in the building. The contrasting colors, such as "palace ballroom blue" in the hall and the "Raleigh Tavern blue" in the study were typical of those used in the colonial period.

[15] The Prince attempted shooting himself in 1949 and the Hohenlohes were divorced a few months later. The following year Peggy married Morton Downey. See New York *Times*, Sept. 26, 26, Oct. 1, 1949, for suicide attempt, Dec. 13, 1949, for divorce, and Oct. 18, 1950, for marriage.

With so many of Maryland's historic houses disappearing through neglect and disinterest of the owners, it is reassuring to see Mr. Iverson's efforts towards the rehabilitation of Burleigh Manor. The house has long been a favorite among connoisseurs of old houses, and justly so, but it lies in the path of suburban development, and in less devoted hands might have given place to rows of half-acre lots.

As to the house itself, the wing and the main part show some differences in construction. The bricks in the main house are of a finer texture and were laid more evenly with better tooling of the mortar in the joints. Also the mortar of the wing is red whereas that of the main house is white, indicating different sources of sand. The rubbed bricks in the flat arches of the first and second story windows and the elliptical arch over the doorway of the main house are finer and more closely laid than those in the wing.

The east and west doorways of the main house are almost identical. The trim of each is delicately carved and surmounted by a beautiful fanlight incorporating a semi-diameter of the sun and its rays in its elliptical design. The difference between the two is that the east fanlight sun has a small set of " loops " around it to signify sunrise and the west fanlight has a corresponding set of " spikes " to represent sunset.

The motif of the interior detail, executed with great skill, is the sun and its rays. The rooms have sufficient window space to make them bright, but there is an added awareness of brightness through the delicate carvings featuring sunbursts of various sizes and shapes. Samples of these from the corner of the frieze on the doorways in the hall and the living room mantel can be seen in the accompanying illustrations.

The " L " shaped hall, large enough to have served as a drawing room, reception room or small ballroom, is not only bathed with light through the entranceways in the morning and afternoon, but at the mid-area where the shadows begin to deepen, a delicately carved elliptical arch lightens the effect of the room with the fine reeding of its soffit running horizontally in the direction of the sun's rays in the room. And the vertical reeding and chevrons on the semi-circular columns of the arch give a feeling of uplift in this area. The effect of the west arm of the hall is lightened by a staircase which gently leads the eye upward along its graceful handrail. The supporting slender, square, white balusters, follow-

ing the curve of the hand rail as it spirals up, appear in the light of the stairwell like rays of sun-light themselves, while in each corner of the step ends there is a fine carved sunburst.

The living room is the richest in carved detail. In addition to the entablature of the fireplace, which can be better appreciated in the illustrations than by a description, the room is paneled below the chair rail. Cable moldings and alternate sections of fluting and stars along the rail provide contrast for the walls. Here again the motif of the sun and its rays dominates the room through the large eye-catching oval sunbursts on the frieze of the mantel and the trim of the doorways.

One of the outstanding aspects of the carvings is their complete subordination to the overall effect in a room. The detail is more luxurious and copious in the living room, not only because it was to receive the guests for entertaining, but also because it was larger and had more wall space. Even so, there is no ostentatious extravaganza of woodcarving, but a restrained dignity, a delicate execution, and a calculated effect of lightness in all the detail.

Moving across the hall to what now serves as a dining room there is a marked diminution of detail in the woodwork. The room is much smaller and every wall is broken up either by windows or large doorways. The same is true of the study, and the fireplace mantels of both rooms have subdued patterns of reeding and chevrons to match the less spacious surroundings. Here again, the refined feeling for proportion, balance and lightness prevails. More intricate and ornate carving can be found in other houses, but few excel Burleigh in good taste and the masterly execution of a theme.

The floor plans of the second story and the attic are the same as the first floor since the partitions are solid brick walls which reach from footings in the basement up to the rafters. As might be expected, the carved woodwork does not extend to the upstairs rooms, nor to the hyphen and wing, which were utility areas.

The house is furnished throughout in good taste to match the style and period of the interior. With the modernization of the utility areas to ease the daily chores which weighed so heavily on the household in former days, the delightful interior of this more than 150 year old house, designed and elaborated in the age of master craftsmen, adds immeasurably to gracious living.

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY: PART III

Edited by DOUGLAS GORDON

(Continued from Vol. 50, No. 2, June, 1955, p. 119)

THE first installment of the Diary of John M. Gordon appeared in volume 49 (March, 1954), pages 196-213, along with a biographical introduction. In brief summary, John Montgomery Gordon was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, on February 4, 1810. He acquired a classical education at Yale University and began his diary in 1835 shortly after graduation. On November 21, 1833, he and Emily Chapman were married in Philadelphia and came to Baltimore to live. Admitted to the Baltimore bar in 1834, Gordon became a successful lawyer. He was elected a director of the Union Bank of Maryland and in 1841 became its president. As a member of the Monday Club and the Conversation Club, a director of the Library Company, and an original trustee of the Peabody Institute, he was active in the cultural life of the city. He died on November 5, 1884.

It has not been possible to identify or elaborate upon every person, place, or event mentioned. Identifications noted in previous installments are as a rule not repeated. Irregularities and variations in spelling and capitalization have been retained as they appeared in the journal.

THE DIARY OF JOHN M. GORDON

Friday July 10th [1835]. Rose this morning at 7. Slept very badly last night. Had the nightmare and bad dreams. Had to get up, walk about the room and read for some time before I could go to sleep. My restlessness was owing to smoking two segars after dinner yesterday. Lloyd and Norris dined with me. We had a very pleasant talk. This morning I finished Caleb Williams. It is a most powerfully written work but tedious towards the close. R. Norris called on me this morning,

about some business, as a kind of peace offering for his puppyism. How soon does insignificance cringe fawning under the lash of sovereign contempt. I have almost kicked that man as he crouches like a spaniel. Little George called to see me yesterday. How that fine little boy contrasts with such a character. I verily believe that there is more nobility of mind to be found in individuals in the lower orders of life, occasionally, than in the higher. Or is it because the native qualities of the mind appear, like the body, more full of vigour and symmetry, when undisguised with the clothing of education? I find the day drags heavily when by myself. I alternately read, write and do nothing and find the night still longer than the day. I wish I was in Fauquier and my gun there. The weather to day is very comfortable.

Saturday July 11th. Rose at 6. Went to market. Occupied the morning in reading and writing letters. W. E. Voss and Thos. Knox dined with me. Fisher of Pha., Sally Waln's beau, came in after dinner and walked and sat with me until 9 o'clock. He does not want talents, is very well educated and yet his conversation is to me particularly raw and puerile. He prides himself on an independent liberality of mind, and he seems to me to be the child of caprice and victim of prejudice. I like him for all that, and wish him every happiness, yet I have a foreboding that he will be a miserable and insignificant old man. He will accuse the world but will be the cause of his own misfortunes. I sent a letter to Emily to day via Fredericksburg. It is ten o'clock. I take up Rabelais for an hour before bed. I began him to day and am thus far disappointed and disgusted even, with the mass of corruption, reeking with the very ooze of putridity with which his pages teem. I have never conceived of more unprovoked and unmitigated obscenity.

Sunday morning. July 12th. Cloudy and rainy. Rose at 7. Slept badly last night, being kept awake by some rowdies under the window, who to my great gratification were finally taken to the watch house by the watch. The tavern next door begins to be a great nuisance. I fear we shall have to move. What a small thing will disturb a man's equanimity. I shall go to church this morning and sit in my own pew. I have asked Thom Knox to take a seat with me. We had a pleasant dinner yesterday. The salt beef, however, our main reliance was spoilt and we were thrown entirely upon the mutton. George Biddle came in while we were at dinner to give me a ticket to his commencement on Tuesday. I shall go. He is to make some experiments before the audience tomorrow in Natural Philosophy. I shall try and be present at them likewise, from the favour I bear him.

I have been watching the operations and habits of my mind for some months past, and I think my imagination is growing warmer. Upon the whole I think most of the faculties of my mind continue to strengthen and improve except memory, and that has been declining for several years, either naturally in proportion as it has been enriched or because I have sadly neglected its cultivation. My Love for poetry and Romance are returning to me. Upon the whole I am conscious that my character

has been much improved by marriage. I miss my little wife very much. I recovered my umbrella, or rather, another one in the place of it, which I left in the stage the night of my return. I see by the papers that Arthur Morson has lost his child. Poor fellow! How I feel for him. Went to Church as usual, sat in my own pew. Saml., Dorsey and Morris of Pha. sat with me. After church took a bath. Slept in afternoon. . . . There is no cholera in the (town), else I would feel uneasy. I am quite well. Commenced a letter to Emily to night. I find Rabelais very dull and unprofitable.

Tuesday July 14th. . . . I read the life of Pitt all day yesterday, by Bishop of Winchester. It is the first time I have read the book though I have had it in determination to do so for many years. I know no work better calculated to rouse the latent or stimulate the active ambition of a young man. At 24 he met and defeated in argument, Lord North, Fox, Burke, Sheridan and a host of inferior orators.

Wednesday July 15th. Rose at 8 after a very refreshing night's sleep. Was at Dr. Potter's for an hour last night to meet Mr. Clem Biddle.[1] Employed myself to day in examining the testamentary system of Md. and in reading Cooper's last novel, the Monikens. I find it very dull. Wrote part of a letter to Emily to day. My hours move on at a sloth's pace here by myself, and reading is " a weariness to the flesh."

Friday morning July 17th. Rece[d]. a very long and sweet letter from Emily yesterday. Read and walked during the morning. Called on Mrs. Norris in the evening and went thence to F. Voss. I dine with Mrs. N. today. Her husband, to her comfort and mine, is out of town. Spent the rest of the evening drawing up two papers for one of which I am to get $25. Sent a long letter to Emily yesterday. Finished the Monikens,—not worth reading. Rose this morning at 7. Weather continues cool and pleasant. Must write to Alxr. to day. Dined with Mrs. N.—T. Voss was there. Had a very nice dinner, a sweet little Ham and tomatoes, which are my delight of a summer day. Been reading life [of] Pitt to day. I was agreeably surprised this morning at receiving my Va. dividend to find it $100 more than usual.

Saturday July 18th. Rose this morning at 4, and took a long walk. Read last night till 12. Rece[d]. a letter from M[rs. Chapman] inquiring very kindly after my health, she having heard that I was sick. Answered it. Read during morning Tucker and life of Pitt. I have been very lazy for the last week and fear I am contracting habits inconsistent with a proper degree of mental discipline. Light reading is becoming too agreeable for the vigorous prosecution of my severe studies. When I get my wife back, however, I shall have zeal enough to set to hard work again. The hours move on wings of lead. Took a long walk, felt much lighter thereby, and being tired went to bed at 10.

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[1] Probably the Clement Biddle with whom J. M. Gordon took a trip to Michigan in 1836. He was Gordon's first cousin.

Sunday July 19th. Rose at 7. Warm day. Read and walked until church. Heard a good sermon very well delivered by a young man from Pha: Powel, lawyer, of Fredg. sat with me. Called on Mrs. N. who so kindly pressed me to stay and dine with her, that I did so. Wrote to Susan. Recedᵈ. a very sweet letter from my dear little wife which I answered. Chap., poor little fellow!, can't be made to learn any tricks. It shews a philosophical turn of mind and I love him the better for it. I wish I was in Fauquier. It would be so pleasant to be there with Sam and B. and families. This afternoon is horribly dull and I am too lazy and ennuied even to say how much so I am. I'll shut up my journal and take a nap on the floor by way of precaution against oversleeping myself. O! that the world had less stagnation in it. Took a walk at 7½ and read until eleven.

Monday July 20th. Rose at 6½. Spent an hour last night with the Wms. and Mrs. Donalson. Met there Dorson and Pennington as usual. What a talking, vulgar, self-conceited fellow that Dorson is, and that such a sweet girl as Lizy Wms. should pay him such devoted attention! I like Mary best. P. as usual rattled on, on atmospheric air, Hindoston, the comparative levels of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, etc., etc.,

" Si naturam furca repellas' [2] What's born in the bone, etc., usque recurrat."

(How rare) a thing in men is " modest stillness and humility." How (much) rarer the soul-touching grace of a manly and natural carriage. O! Modesty, O! refinement, O! sensibility, O! Taste, O! sweet nature! " Thou has fled to brutish hearts." Sat from nine to ten with Donalson who asked me to come one day this week to eat Westphalia Ham. I like them, the Donalsons, and Hams too, the more, every time I see them.

Poor Sarah called to see me this morning. She is in much trouble. Her husband has been sold to a negro trader who takes him to Mississippi. She wished me to buy him. Should she not get some of her friends to purchase him, her plan is to lay up her wages till she has enough to procure his liberty. . . .

Walked in the afternoon with Dulany to Rail Road depot to see the cars come in from Washington. The engineer told us that the train had averaged 27 miles an hour! If they run at that rate, there must be dreadfull accidents. D. came in to tea and we had two games of chess which lasted until 10 o'clock. He beat me both of them. I have given over being sleepy at night lately, and have to read a dull book for an hour before I feel drowsy. Would this were Friday night! I called this afternoon on Capt. Shubrick to speak a good word for P. Voss,[3] who is applying for the place of private secretary.

Tuesday July 21st, 1835. Rose at 6½. Cool cloudy day. Got a letter from Bazil this morning. He and Wellington are going to Piney Point

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[2] Horace's *Epistles* I, 10, line 24.

[3] The Voss family lived in Falmouth, Virginia. The members were neighbors, therefore, of the diarist's uncle Bazil and friends of the entire Gordon family.

to day. Bought a bell this morning to take as a present to Eliza, likewise some tooth brushes, soap and salts for Emily.

I have just heard that the boat will not leave Fredg. until Saturday, and as I was delayed partly in expectation of my gun which will not now come until Sunday, I have determined to leave here tomorrow via Fredg. and take them by surprise on Friday at dinner. Two more days will restore me to happiness. I have been fixing all the afternoon and shall go and walk now and then pack up. I must not forget some candy for Chap. and Cos:

Wednesday July 29th. I arrived at Wms.' last Friday at 10 A. M. Left Baltimore on Wednesday at 8 and was very nearly being too late for the cars, which left that morning ½ an hour earlier than usual. I knew none of the passengers but Jno: Waring from near Port Royal. We were whirled over to Bladensburg in 2 hours including 20 minutes stoppage, distance 30 miles. Put up at Brown's, which I found intolerably filthy and vulgar. I walked down before dinner to Genrl. Hunter's, but found them still in the country at Abingdon. In the afternoon visited the Capitol and examined the statues of War and Peace, with which I was disagreeably disappointed. Left in the morning boat at 5. Dr. Harris and daughter of Pha: were on board, with whom I became acquainted through the introduction of Jno. Mercer of the Navy, and found him a most charming, cultivated gentleman. We came from the landing in the same stage and [had] some classical conversation and discussion of characters.

Reached Fredg: at 11 and found all well at Kenmore and discussing a fine mellon. Dined there that day and slept at Dr. Wallace's.[4] I started in the morning at break of day in a gig with a broken down horse which I was just able with the assistance of severe flogging to push as far as Cane's, where I got another and stronger animal and came on very comfortably, occasionally stopping on the road side to discharge my gun which I brot. with me in the leather case. My little wife came running out to meet me as happy as happy can be. I found her and Chap. both much improved and strengthened by the pure air of Fauquier. S., W. and Patsy [5] were dining at Mr. Jno. Knox's and returned about sundown. Next day I lounged on the bed, listened to Emily's journal and shot a bird or two in the afternoon.

Sunday was excessively hot. We had intended to go to the church across Carter's Bridge, but gave it out. I commenced Kennedy's novel, Horseshoe Robinson, and was interested in the first 30 pages.

Monday. Read, shot, played with children, conversed and slept.

Tuesday rained all day. Read Horseshoe and Blackwood. The former

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[4] Dr. John H. Wallace, husband of J. M. Gordon's eldest sister, Mary Nicholas Gordon.

[5] Samuel and Wellington Gordon, brothers of J. M. Gordon; Patsy Fitzhugh, wife of Samuel Gordon of Santee, older brother of J. M. Gordon.

I doubt, whether I can force my inclinations to finish. It becomes,—as the pages multiply on you—, weak, diffuse, unnecessarily circumstantial, and regardless of the minor probabilities. The filling up of the characters does not harmonize with the sketch he gives of them when introduced. The story wants interest. The unities of place and action are slighted, and many of the characters have no more mutual dependence and connexion than those of different works. (I am interrupted here to ride with W*m* to Wheatleys Mills.)

Friday July 31st (1835). Wednesday rode with Wm. to the mill and purchased some articles for Eliza and the children. Returned in time for dinner. We expected the Misses Fitzhughs to dine with us, but they did not come. After dinner Wm., Emily and myself walked over to M^r^. Chapman's. We took our guns and shot a dozen birds. Returned about 8. Next morning according to an engagement made the previous evening, Wm. and I walked over to the sulphur spring about 3 miles and near the main road. We had not intended walking but no horses were up. Mr. Chapman joined us. Took my gun along. Found the water muddy and without any taste of sulphur. We breakfasted with Mr. C. Brought home birds enough for a large pie, which we had yesterday. Slept, read and walked out with my gun in the afternoon. We expected Mary to dinner but she did not arrive. Sam went down on Wednesday. Wm. and I propose riding over to Lee's [6] tomorrow, or the next day. This morning rose at 7. Too hot to go out and have been reading Blackwood all the morning.

Monday Aug. 3rd. Returned yesterday from Lee's springs whither Wm. and I went on Saturday. Found Chap. unwell on my return with diarrhea and fever. He passed a restless night and this morning we sent a note by Wellington to Dr. Hamilton, (who was on his way to Lee's). Mary is to be up to day. Went out this morning with my gun and brot: back a bag full of birds. We intend leaving here on Monday next for the Springs ourselves. Wm. and Sam and families go at the same time. Chapman, poor little fellow, continues hot and restless this morning, but I think it owing to a tooth that is coming through. We were much pleased with our visit to Lee's, about two hundred guests, and the accommodations very good.

Tuesday Aug^st^. 11th 1835. At Lee's Springs and have been here since Saturday. From Monday last until Thursday Chapman continued quite unwell with the bowel complaint, during which time I staid in his room, walked, shot and read Horseshoe Robinson (which I have not yet finished). On Wednesday Mary arrived with her children and left next morning in a hack for the springs, which we engaged to come back for us on Friday evening. On that day we dined with M^r^. Sidney Chapman and took Chapman with us. We met Bazil [7] and Lucy as we were

[6] Lee's Sulphur Springs near Warrenton, later known as Fauquier White Sulphur Springs.

[7] Bazil Gordon, older brother of J. M. Gordon and Lucy P. Taylor his wife,

driving into his farm. Returned, after quite a pleasant day, about sun down. Next morning after breakfast started in fine glee for the springs. We stopt at Uncle John's and as Churchill was desirous to visit the springs and had no conveyance, I was very happy to give her my seat and take good long pleasant walk. Bazil walked likewise. I had my gun and shot only a bat on a dead tree. B. was quite worn down; it took us four hours with ¾ hour rest, and must therefore be more than 10 miles. The carriage got ½ an hour a head of us. We found no change of a room when we got here. D. Gordon,[8] Wt. Gordon, Thomas and Turner, however gave us their room in the 4th story for the night, and the next day, Mrs. Wheeland of Baltimore, gave us a part of her cabin, one of the two which were left in the middle of the yard for C[hief] J[ustice] Marshall. We got in during the day. I set to work, and by changin[g] the hinges of the doors, etc., made the room quite comfortable.

We found my Mother, Susan and Agnes with Miss Letitia Smith very comfortably fixed in cabin No. 8, the second on the right hand. Lucy, who came with us, got a nice cabin yesterday. We found here Mrs. Skinner, Mrs. Didier, and Mrs. Wheland of our Baltimore acquaintances,—not many farther north, but numbers of my old friends from the neighbourhood. Mrs. Page, Misses Caroline and Elizabeth Fitzhugh, Mrs. J. F. Fields, Mr. Ward, Mrs. J^s. Brooke, Mrs. Caldwell, Mrs. Green and Mrs. Richie, her mother, Mrs. Harrison, etc., etc., Mrs. Winston and daughters, Rev^d. Phil Slaughter and the Dr. his brother, Scott (son of Judge), several Marshalls, and many others too numerous to mention. We had the policy to get our seats at table opposite the Green party.

Yesterday Uncle B. and Family arrived and after a good deal of trouble I succeeded in getting them comfortably fixed in the barber's shop. To day Sam and Wm. and Davies of Baltimore arrived. Bonny Barrol came to day from Balt. and gave us the proceedings of the Baltimore mob up to Monday. O, tempora, O Mores! a city of 100,000 people put down by 500, or at most 5,000. The springs are crowded to excess. Perhaps four hundred persons are now here. To day a northeaster has commenced and the rain has set in most uncomfortably. Played whist this morning, with Bazil, Wh. and Young Brooke, and then slept till dinner time. I am enjoying myself very much here. Chapman to day pointed at me for the first time, when asked by his mother where I was. Sweet little fellow!

Thursday August 13. Rose at 6½. Day hot and close. Patsy left this morning. Dr. Wallace, who came this morning, takes Mary away likewise during the day. Applied for seats last night for Friday and find them all taken. Yesterday It cleared away about 12, and the walking soon became good again. The company seems now to be thinning. Miss E. Smith, my old flame, arrived this morning, or rather my reputed flame. I hope she may catch a fine beau at the springs. But she is very insipid

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daughter of John Taylor of Caroline. Their house was "Prospect Hill," Caroline County.

[8] Douglas Hamilton Gordon, first cousin of J. M. Gordon, youngest son of Bazil Gordon of Falmouth.

and I would not wish any friend to marry her who would find it out. I am glad to see her looking so well and not perceptibly deaf.

Saw General Peyton of Richmond yesterday. Take it all in all, the company is as good here as I ever met at a watering place. Saw Dr. Thornton this morning. He came before breakfast. He very kindly repeated the invitation of his daughter to visit him and offered to make an arrangement for a carriage to take us. John Thornton is likewise here, two Mr. Conways (one who paid a morning visit with me to Mr. Madison), a son, the last surviving one, of Judge Dade. Dr. Minor of Navy, Hoe of Navy, with whiskers brought us word that the mob in Baltimore is quelled. We had a gay room last night. I danced with little Helen Brooke to gratify her mother. I have felt badly for a day or two and think the waters disagree with me. The springs begin to grow tiresome and I am now anxious to get back.

Baltimore, Monday August 17th. Arrived here last night at 9 in the cars from Washington, having come that morning from Warrenton. We had an easy and agreeable ride to Alexandria. It was our intention to remain with Genrl. Hunter for a day or two, but we found him busy in defending the jail from the mob, and his house being threatened with an attack, we determined to push on. Davies and family were in Washington and came over with us. We caught Senna out and had to take our tea at Barnums, from whose windows we caught the first view of Johnson's ruin [9] and the military arrangement of cannon and soldiers for the night. It looked more warlike than any thing I have ever yet had the pleasure of seeing.

I left the springs at last with reluctance. There had been many arrivals of agreeable people in the preceding two days and the present week promised to be a very gay one. Bazil and Lucy left the morning we did. The Wheelands came down with us. I find the town in the most unpleasant state of excitement and fear all is not settled yet. Went to Bank this morning. Met Poor Morris [10] in the street who was too mortified to speak to me. None of the victims of the fury of the mob, I am sure, had their sensibilities more deeply wounded. Went to market before breakfast. I never saw a finer supply of vegitables and fruit. Very hot today. Thermometer upwards of 80. How delighted I am to get Home again. My own dear Home, so sweet and quiet and refined,—and our exquisite little dinners! We get citrons for 2 cts. apiece.

Tuesday Augst. 18th 1835. Rose this morning at 7. Felt quite uncomfortably from a cold. Wrote to my mother last night and to Wm. K. G. to day. Day very hot which makes me very anxious about Chap.'s bowels, being already a little disordered. Had a very graphic and circumstantial

[9] Reverdy Johnson's house at the northwest corner of Calvert and Fayette Streets was destroyed by the mob. Johnson was a director and counsel of the Bank of Maryland. The delay in paying its creditors caused the Bank Riots.

[10] John B. Morris, President of the Bank of Maryland. His house, now the Cathedral School, 7 West Mulberry Street, was damaged by the mob.

account of the mob from young Brown of the bar. Have been reading the Law of Riots this morning.

Thursday Augst. 20th. Yesterday Chapman had a violent purging. 14 passages and surprising to say he seems this morning as well as ever. Dr. Buckler came to see him in the absence of Dr. Steuart. I felt badly yesterday and spent the morning upstairs reading Levitt " Art of Sinking in Poetry " to Emily. In the afternoon Mrs. Chapman arrived with T. Biddle, Jr., to carry Emily back, upon which I am very sorry that I have to put my veto. Rose this morning at 6 and walked with T. Biddle [11] to market. Went to Bank at 8. Day hot. I feel better to day and am blowing out my cold through the nose. I shall read Cruise this morning.

Friday Aug. 21st. Rose at 5 this morning to see Thom. Biddle off. Chapman continued unwell all yesterday, but this morning seems free of fever and the bowel complaint. Read Cruise yesterday on subject of common recoveries with much relish. I am particularly pleased with Mansfield's remarks, in one of the cases, on the uncertainty of the word disseisin. What constitutes it. Played half a dozen games of chess very well with T. Biddle last night. The day is cool and airy and fine for Chapman.

Saturday August 22nd: Rose at 5½. Went to market and read until breakfast. I shall hereafter employ an hour before breakfast in committing select specimens of poetry and prose to memory, for I find that faculty of my mind on the wane. Yesterday rece^{d}. a letter from B. B. Gordon dated Liverpool, which I have answered, my letter being almost finished when his arrived. Weather cool to day. Thermometer under 76°. Called with Emily on Mr. and Mrs. Johnson yesterday, but found they had gone into the country, to Harford Court.

Sunday Aug: 23rd. Rose late. Cool day. Shall go to church. Employed most of the morning in copying. Afternoon read and walked. Have commenced Chataubriand's Travels. Read the concluding number on Pitt in Littell. Resolved to rise earlier on Sunday. Mrs. C. rece^{d}. a letter from the Dr. yesterday, promising to come down to day or tomorrow and mentioning that I was to be invited with several other citizens to a public dinner to D^{r}. Patterson in Pha. next Saturday. It is very kind of the Dr. and would give me much pleasure to go but I must decline.

Tuesday Aug. 25th. Attended Bank yesterday and was appointed Cashier pro tem. Read and copied in the morning and walked after dinner with Mrs. C. and E. Received a fee of $35 from Goodwin and Hart for drawing declaration of slaves. How sweet are one's first sensations of gain. At the present time I think I should be perfectly happy if my practice brought me in $2000 a year, but when that time arrives I shall no doubt be looking forward to some thing better. I am, in any event, secure of the present and will enjoy it. Fools look forward to

[11] Nephew of Mrs. Nathaniel Chapman.

tomorrow, wise men seize today. Rose this morning at 5 o'clock and went to market. It has become quite an amusement to me. I find out some new character every day, some vegitable man or old woman with eggs and butter. I wish my faculties for studying men and Books were equal. Read Swift last night. His Origin of the Sciences and Annus Mirabilis. He has certainly more wit of the first water than any writer in the English Language. I have read all his works two or three times before.

Thursday, Aug: 27th. Mrs. Chapman left us yesterday in a rain, which however passed away by noon and she had good weather to go ashore in. I was a little unwell during the morning and staid within doors and read and napped. Read some of Swift to Emily. Retired early. Rose at 5½. Chapman is better, feel quite well this morning. Rec^{d}. the first number of Noah's paper, which I like very much. Put up cards, etc., for Mr. B. Gordon's family, but was disappointed in sending it by the boat which had changed the hour of starting from 3 to nine. Likewise a bundle for Wm. Sent him a copy of Taylor's Agricola as a present.

Friday Aug. 28th. Rose at 5½. Got up at that hour to give the porter the keys of the U. Bank. Last night was kept up till 12 getting a writ for Hart and Poor and Keyser, to take up some western merchant who was to leave in the morning. I felt badly and have done so for several days. I want exercise.

Saturday Aug: 29th: Rose at 6. Must get up earlier. Felt better today. R. Voss took tea with us. We had a pleasant evening. He surprised us with the engagement of Margarite Smith, (daughter of Denis) and young Ingersol of (New Orleans). Yesterday took up one or two accts. of Wm. G. Cook, for collection, but they are bad even agst. good persons for want of proof. Walked with Emily and R. Voss to choose his carpets. Read in the morning. Purchased Tidd's Practice and intend to take up the study of that subject. Practice however is not to be learned from theory.

Sunday Aug: 30th 1835. Rose at 6 and walked. Fine day, airy and cool. Went to church and sat in our own pew with the most satisfactory feelings. One has such sensations of self-respect and respectability in taking his seat in a decorous and decent congregation with a minister who is at once a gentleman and Christian. Repeated from my Greek Prayer Book. I think I shall get the Pentateuch and a Greek and Latin prayer book. Wm. Norris dined with us and gave a very interesting acct. of the springs (White Sulphur). We walked in the evening and at night and discussed the two nuisances of Court House and tavern. We shall be compelled to move.

Monday Aug: 31. Rose at 5½. Went to market and Bank. Laid in my supply of wood to day at $3.12 cts. cord; with costs of cutting, etc., $3.64½. Read Tidd. Attended to some business and walked. I feel better having been carefull in my diet. Yet still I find it difficult to bring

my mind to bear upon my particular study with its whole force. Chapman is quite well again and becoming more intelligent daily.

Thursday Sep: 3rd. Employed the last three days as usual. Have commenced Tidd's Practice and find it very instructive and satisfactory. The first work I have read on the subject. We spent last evening at Bolton very agreeably (some persons there from Florida) and on our return were much disappointed to find that Genrl. and Mrs. Cadwalader [12] had been to se us and had retired for the night. I went down however this morning and saw them on the boat. Went through R. Voss' house this morning. It is very pretty and will be beautifull when finished. Got a letter from Alxr. yesterday. I am getting into better habits of study.

Friday morning Septr. 4th. Rose at 5¼. Walked and read. I breakfast on soft peaches and milk, which I find agrees well with me and most palatable. Recd. a letter from W. K. Gordon today ordering the purchase of some F. and M. Bank stock. We go to Norris' tonight to meet Mrs. Lansdale. Had been examining the right of a justice to take special bail on a suit in County Court. Read Tidd on special bail with a view to the same question. I find great difficulties from the want of some knowledge of practice and when a case occurs I am all at sea although I am sufficiently familiar with the principles of law.

Monday Sep. 7th 1835.

Tuesday Sep. 8th. Rose at 5½. I always awake at that hour precisely. I have been reading Tidd for several days and find it a very instructive Book. We were asked to Mrs. Skinner's last night but did not go. Lanman called in to see us yesterday afternoon having just returned from his summer tour. I like that little fellow very much. Bought a nice basket this morning in market to send my mother some choice fruit in, by tomorrow's boat. G. Smith [13] is elected by 4 votes to one and thus the mob is put down. Recd. a sweet letter from my mother on Sunday. Yesterday R. Voss dined with us. I was glad that we happened to have a sweet little dinner to give him. Went with him in the morning to look at some articles in the China Shops. While we were there a furious bullock walked into the shop through the back door and passed out the front door without hurting any thing. It was the first time I met with a bull in a China shop. The petrified look of the irish shopman and the expression of the other persons present, taken with the attitude of the bull, formed a fine group for a caricature.

Wednesday Sept. 9th. The Union has at last sold those cursed Tennessee Bonds and we come out of the transaction about square. The termes were finally settled at the meeting of the board yesterday. The

[12] General Thomas Cadwalader. His wife Mary Biddle was Mrs. Chapman's sister.

[13] General Samuel Smith after suppressing the Bank Riots was elected Mayor of Baltimore at the age of 83 in a special election, here referred to, and in the regular election of the following year.

stock will now be worth some thing like $80. Sent my mother a basket of nice peaches this morning by boat. I have commenced studying French in the afternoon and intend to prosecute it with vigour. My health is getting better with the return of cool weather and by the aid of a diet of peaches and cream. I study now much more than usual and to more purpose.

Thursday Sep 10th. Rose this morning bright and early at 5. Shaved before going out. Read Chataubriand's Travels in Greece last night. Went to see 4 dwarfs from Va: last afternoon. They were perfect Liliputians. Read a french fable and studied the syntax of it. I am examining the right of 2 justices to take special bail in the cases of Hart and Co: and Poor and Keyser v. Campbell. I read with much more profit and pleasure when examining the law in its application to a certain case. I find it begins to assume daily more of the form of a science to my contemplation. My apprehension is as quick and strong as it ever was, attributable, no doubt, to regular exercise and light food. What a connexion there is in my case between the mind and body. It often makes me recur to the doctrines of materialism. I stop to go to Bank.

Saturday Sep 12th. Bad day chilly and raining. Thursday evening we spent with Mrs. Ritchie and Harrison of Richmond at Skinners. What agreeable, refined people H. and wife are and how beautifull their manners! Have been examining the laws Md: for several days and studying French. Am reading Chataubriand's travels to Emily at night. Yesterday took a walk to one of the Gardens and brought back E. a beautifull boquet of flowers. R. V. and B. F. V. spent last evening with us playing whist.

Sunday. Went to church and heard a most beautifull and tender sermon from Mr. Wyatt. Afternoon,—took a long walk of 4 miles with Emily by Paterson's county seat and back by the catholic chapel. Spent the evening very agreeably with Mrs. Donalson.

Monday. Rose at 6. Saw Bert Willis in market. Bob is in town at Goodwin's. Must call to see them. Called to see them. Heard that Caroline Fitzhugh of Fairfax is to be married to a Mr. Withers of Florida and to go out at once. Wrote D. Briggs thereupon, enquiring whether it was true and when she would be here.

Read a letter from my father this morning Saturd. Sep. 19th and one from Sam, telling me that Mr. F. had two young mocking birds for us. Had Berry, who has come here to practice law and taken the office in my basement, to dinner yesterday, like wise, Sml. Dorsey and Dr. Baker, my College classmates. Had a very beautifull little dinner. I asked Jno. Minor of Fredg. who was staying in town likewise. He was engaged to dine with Collins. Took tea with him at Donaldson's. Have determined to go to Pha: middle of next week. Wrote a long and affectionate letter to my old college friend Wyndham Kemp of Gloucester Co:, Va., now in Miss.

practicing Law. Poor fellow! He is naturally melancholy, and I fear is very sad so far from home and his friends. I shall write him often and long letters because I know it makes him very happy to get them. Wrote a letter of introduction this morning for Sml. Dorsey to Mr. Roy of N. Orleans. Am reading a number of the law Library on the Office of Sheriff in connection with bail pieces taken by two justices. Chap. rece[d]. a very beautifull present of a hat from his grandmama last night.

Monday Sep. 21st. 1835. Went to Church yesterday and heard a charming sermon from Mr. Wyatt, Berry sat with. We met Suittor [14] of Norfolk after coming out and asked him to tea. He spent the evening with us. R. Voss stept in while we were at tea. Rece[d]. a letter from B. Gordon, dated Paris July 29th, the day of the infernal machine attempting the king's life. I forwarded the letter to his father. We go to Pha: Wednesday. I expect to have a very pleasant trip. Shall hear Binney's oration on Marshall. Reced. a letter from Sam. some days since, which answered yesterday. Mr. Fitzhugh has raised us two mocking birds. Finished a long letter to Bazil B. Gordon this morning which I began some weeks since.

Put up my valuable papers to deposit with R. V. I am getting to the end of this my first journal. I regret not having kept one for some years. The little events which colour life are as evanescent as the tints of the rain box, and pass from the memory leaving as little trace as the dew drop does on the earth's surface. Why cannot all our faculties and powers grow stronger as we advance in the career of life. Our bodies and minds begin at opposite ends of the scale. The former grows stronger and clearer to the last, the latter becomes weaker as it loses the powerfull energies of juvenescence. Neither the one nor the other has any stopping place. Life has no stopping place, no point to stand upon and pause. But you are urged onward, in an unvarying progress, without the power of arresting one moment, and the future cannot be remembered without a sacrifice of the present. How short are the divisions of time even when life seems the longest. I am twenty five years of age and perhaps have finished one half the time allotted to my portion. I love the world, but I do not fear eternity. In the fullness of health, I do not fear my

Finis — Balto. Sep. 21, 1835.

[14] Probably James Taylor Soutter who married J. M. Gordon's first cousin Agnes Gordon Knox. He moved to New York and became president of the Bank of the Republic there.

THE SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF ZACHARIAH HOOD

By Aubrey C. Land

ANYONE who presumes to speak about Zachariah Hood has first to identify this worthy in the throng of nearly unknown figures that emerge from obscurity to utter a few lines into the record of history before retiring forever from the scene. Then, too, a reason ought to be given why such an insignificant person is selected from the horde of his kind to be spoken about. Both of these problems can be given a satisfactory answer and one that puts Hood's story in a new light. In the first place he did not bow off the stage quite as precipitately as has been believed.[1] Indeed, he displayed a remarkable talent for getting back into the show, never in a major role but into situations that enabled him to speak with the great even when he could not talk to them on terms of equality. Moreover his career after he is shuffled into darkness in most accounts, that is to say his subsequent career, has its instructive features and at least one streak of color.

The story of Zachariah Hood up to 1767 is relatively well known to students of revolutionary Maryland.[2] We first hear of him in connection with important events in 1765 when the *Maryland Gazette* printed a letter purporting to come from a " Gentleman in London." [3] According to the London correspondent Hood had made remarks that later were to count heavily against him.

[1] James McSherry dismisses him at Jamaica, New York, deprived of his office by the Liberty Boys of the province, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 126. Matthew Page Andrews permits him to return to Maryland after the breach with the New York radicals and leaves him peacefully doing business as usual, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York, 1929), p. 285. Professor Charles A. Barker sends him to the West Indies and destitution, but allows him to petition the crown for relief in 1771, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 300.

[2] Barker, *Background*, pp. 299-300.

[3] *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1765.

Parliament had recently passed the Stamp Act and Hood, a small-time Annapolis merchant just then in England on business, had managed to get himself appointed distributor for the province of Maryland. He had remarked that if his countrymen were to be stamped, it might as well be done by a native. But on his return home in mid-August of 1765 he found his countrymen resolutely determined to be stamped by no one and perfectly prepared to deal with anyone who tried it, native or not.

Shortly after he landed at Annapolis Hood witnessed two demonstrations of his countrymen's regard for all things connected with the distasteful stamp duty and for distributors in particular. In broad daylight on August 26 a band of Annapolis townspeople staged a mock procession honoring an effigy of Zachariah Hood, which they paraded to a gallows just outside town. There with solemn ceremonial they hanged and burned the dummy.[4] A week later a more determined mob, reported as three or four hundred strong, descended under cover of darkness on a small warehouse that Hood had rented as a place for storing and distributing the stamps. So complete was their destruction of the building that even a chest of carpenter's tools left by a workman could not be salvaged.[5]

After these two outbreaks Hood understandably concluded that his own hide was not safe in Annapolis, and he looked about for a refuge. The stamps were expected at any moment. Their arrival was almost certain to signal another burst of fury on the most eligible target. Hood declined an offer of sanctuary in Governor Horatio Sharpe's own house and disappeared from sight until he found an opportunity to escape to New York where he made a wonderfully concise report to his English superiors. " Our province (Maryland) is extremely heated." [6]

Even in New York Hood found himself in peril from the heats that had aroused his countrymen to the south. Initially he made the nearly fatal mistake of taking up residence at the last resort in which he should have shown his face, the King's Arms Tavern, headquarters of the New York radicals. From the King's Arms

[4] *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1765.

[5] Governor Horatio Sharpe to the Earl of Halifax, Sept. 5, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 221.

[6] Hood had reached New York by Sept. 23, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV, 134.

he soon moved to safer quarters at Fort George and finally to Governor Cadwallader Colden's farm on Long Island.[7] But once he had exposed himself, Hood never shook the New York Sons of Liberty off his trail. Finally on November 26 the mob caught him and forced him to resign his office as stamp distributor.[8]

The next record of Hood's doings comes to us from the letters of Governor Sharpe, who had watched with concern the outbreaks against the stamp distributor and against an innocent officer commanding a British naval vessel suspected by Annapolis townspeople of bringing the stamped paper to Maryland.[9] Sharpe had advised against attempting to land the paper in the province and had recommended that the navy keep it aboard a man-of-war lest it be destroyed. Whether Sharpe's advice determined the navy's course is not clear. But at any rate the stamped paper was not brought ashore in Maryland until after repeal of the Stamp Act. And with repeal local tension relaxed in the general rejoicing. Zachariah Hood even found it possible to return to pick up the wreckage of his business. According to Sharpe, Hood had " ventured back & keeps Store again in this City." [10] Two weeks later the governor reported " Tranquillity . . . perfectly restored " and Hood conducting his business " to as great Extent & Advantage as he did before his Appointment." [11]

Evidently Hood had hoped for such a sequel. The event quickly brought him to realize that he could never recover his old customers. In his own words he " soon found that their resentment continued." Without means of livelihood in Maryland, he left the colony for England, apparently in the expectation of compensation by the government.

The evidence on Hood's movements during the four years following 1766 comes from a single memorial that he presented to the Lords of the Treasury in February, 1771.[12] Hood told their Lordships that he had come from Maryland to England

[7] Wilbur C. Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution* (New York, 1929), pp. 39-40.
[8] Edmund S. and Helen Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* (Chapel Hill, 1953), pp. 153-154.
[9] The Mewbray incident is told in Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 261.
[10] Sharpe to Hugh Hamersley, June 15, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 313.
[11] Sharpe to Secretary Conway, June 27, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 315.
[12] *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV, 138-139.

where he had brought to the attention of the authorities the " state of this his Unhappy case." [13] He had received no succor then and soon found himself in desperate financial straits. Evidently his experience in merchandising had enabled him to find employment with a mercantile firm engaged in trade to the sugar islands, presumably as a supercargo or agent of some sort. His own phrase is not fully clear. He merely states that, failing compensation by the government, he has " since been under the Necessity of undergoing the greatest fatigues of mind and Body in Voyaging to the West India's as a bare means of Support." [14] Not only was his case a hard one, Hood let their Lordships know, but he had suffered these indignities of mind and body with the clearest conviction of his own righteousness. And to drive home his point he stretched the truth a trifle. " Your Memorialist was the only person employed [as provincial stamp agent] by his Majesty who refused to resign." [15]

But deliverance was at hand for Hood, not instantaneous of course, for that was not the working tempo of British officialdom. The machinery began to move, however, and on January 7, 1773, the commissioners of the customs at Boston signed the warrant that appointed Zachariah Hood comptroller of the port of Philadelphia.[16]

Hood's salary as comptroller was not magnificent—£80 sterling. But his perquisites in fees brought his total income from the office to a sum that must have seemed princely after his years of penury. His annual take in fees added £677 currency, or about £400 sterling, to his regular salary.[17] Altogether he could hardly complain that his Majesty's government had ignored his suffering in the cause of upholding the king's dignity during the Stamp Act troubles.

[13] This memorial has evidently not been preserved.

[14] *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV, 138-139.

[15] Hood may have tortured some such meaning as " resignation under duress is no proper resignation " into his words " refused to resign." He surely had provided himself with some out in case the Lords raised embarrassing questions about his statement. It was reasonably well known that every single stamp distributor had resigned his post either under direct pressure of a mob or to forestall pressure.

[16] Memorial of Zachariah Hood to the Royal Commission, July 16, 1784, in Hugh E. Egerton, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists* (Oxford, 1915), p. 155.

[17] Anne Bezanson, *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 318-319, 333-334.

Unfortunately other troubles were now at hand, more serious even than the Stamp Act difficulties. Just eleven months after Hood took up his duties at Philadelphia the citizens of Boston dumped the tea chests into the harbor to prevent forced landing and payment of the tea tax. Again Americans had resisted taxation, this time with fatal consequences for the empire that Zachariah Hood served. Tension in the colonies mounted beyond anything previously known when England expressed her displeasure in the Intolerable Acts. Not even Dr. Franklin's counsel of moderation had softened the determined attitude of parliament. On their side the colonists met parliamentary measures with equal determination. By early 1775 colonies and mother country had reached an impasse.

It was in these months of mounting crisis that Hood's American career came to an abrupt end. In early 1775 Hood made some incautious remarks about a Philadelphian, Benjamin Franklin, whose name he should have treated with the utmost respect. Instead he was sharp and unrestrained in his criticism of Franklin's conduct in England. For his pains he was given a sound thrashing by Franklin's son-in-law, Richard Bache.[18] It is highly unlikely that, at this stage, Hood could have obtained satisfaction against Bache in the Pennsylvania courts. The whole apparatus of customs officers, and the vice-admiralty courts connected with them, was distasteful to the people of Philadelphia and Hood's association with officialdom hardly endeared him to the citizenry. His additional offense of censuring Franklin was not to be endured. In May Hood quit his unpopular post and sailed for England.

A second time Hood threw himself upon England's bounty. And again he was rescued from his distress. Lord North arranged a lump sum gift of £200 sterling for his immediate relief and granted him an annuity of £100 as a loyal servant of the crown suffering in his Majesty's cause. Moreover his salary as comptroller of the port of Philadelphia, £80 a year, was continued until he could resume his post at the end of troubles. But in 1782 the commissioners of the customs struck him off their list.[19] By that year it had become plain that Philadelphia would never

[18] Egerton, *Royal Commission*, p. 155.
[19] *Ibid.*

again require the services of a comptroller, at least not one sent out from England.

And now in July, 1784—exactly nineteen years after his entry upon the stage—we last hear of Zachariah Hood when his case is called by the Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists. Although he had lost his regular salary of £80 two years previously, Hood was still receiving the £100 pension that Lord North had given him in 1775. His memorial to the Commission recites only his career from his appointment as comptroller at Philadelphia, the post that he had abandoned "at the commencement of the troubles." Of earlier troubles and loyal services for which he had been awarded the Philadelphia appointment he does not speak.

But as England had once minded her servant suffering in her cause after the Stamp Act so now in his greater travail she gave ear to his sad tale and ministered to his needs. Zachariah Hood slips finally from recorded history on 16 July 1784 when the Royal Commission awarded him a bounty of £100 sterling for life.[20]

SIDELIGHTS

THE BOUNDARIES OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PRIOR TO 1695

J. Ninian Beall

The generally accepted authoritative history of the origin of Maryland counties is Edward B. Mathews' *The Counties of Maryland, Their Origin Boundaries, and Election Districts*, published in 1907 as Special Publication, Volume VI, part 5, of the Maryland Geological Survey. Mathews states on page 525:

> In 1654 old Charles County was abolished and the territory on both sides of the Patuxent was erected into Calvert County. Somewhat later Calvert County was limited to the territory on the eastern side of the Patuxent and Prince George's County became part of the new Charles County which was erected in 1658. This was the condition of affairs up to the general act of 1695 when Prince George's County was erected.

The extant records do not provide much information upon which to work out the exact boundaries for this area before 1695, but from my own researches the above account by Mathews appears to be in error. Prince George's County was erected principally from territory which was Calvert County continuously from 1654 to 1695, and only a relatively small portion of Prince George's County, as erected in 1695, was from the territory of Charles County between 1658 and 1695.

The early counties represented settlements along and close to the water and originally they were not given fixed boundaries. The situation appears to be that the original counties included such adjacent backlands as were thereafter settled from time to time. As settlements developed at points remote from the original county seats and settlements, new counties were erected, partly for the convenience of inhabitants and partly for political reasons.

The result was that the counties were patterned primarily on the lines of settlement and the geographical configuration of the population rather than artificial boundaries. Mathews assumed that the Patuxent was made a boundary before 1658 between Calvert and Charles County, when in fact it remained a tie between the people on each side of it. Instead the division between the two counties from 1658 to 1695 was the watershed

divide between the Potomac and Patuxent River which separated their respective drainage areas.

Specifically, the Patuxent River frontage (south or west side) and all of the area, with drainage into the Patuxent River, which became Prince George's County, in 1695, was in Calvert County continuously from 1654 to 1695, and the area taken from Charles County in 1695 and made a part of Prince George's County consisted only of the Potomac River frontage and the drainage area into the Potomac River north of present Charles and extending as far as the District of Columbia.

Mathews takes the position that practically all of Prince George's County was erected from Charles. That view appears to disregard the fact that the branches of the Patuxent River were specifically included in the area of Patuxent County (1654). Patuxent County was renamed Calvert in 1658. He also makes the unsupported statement that Calvert County lost jurisdiction west of the Patuxent River about 1658, and that area became part of Charles and remained so until Prince George's County was erected in 1695. (page 525)

From 1648 to 1695, the land patents, deeds, wills, offices and litigations touching Charles County are uniformly consistent in being confined to the Potomac River drainage area and never include the Patuxent River drainage area. The line between Charles and Calvert, as observed by inhabitants of both counties in all of their affairs and transactions, was in general the divide between the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers. Land patents issued as being in Charles County from 1658 to 1695 covered lands in the Potomac River drainage area only, and were designated as Charles County from 1658 to 1695. The local officers and the representatives in the council for Charles County were chosen by residents of the Potomac River drainage area. From 1658 to 1695 more than one hundred wills were described as of Charles County and in all instances the testators and their property were in the Potomac River drainage area and never included residents of the Patuxent River drainage area. The Patuxent River drainage area inhabitants designated their wills as of Calvert from 1654 to 1695. The Calvert County citizens residing west of the Patuxent River, usually identified their location as " of Patuxent, Calvert County " and those residing east of the Patuxent River frequently identified themselves as " of the Cliffs, Calvert County." There were about two hundred Calvert County wills probated between 1654 and 1695 and about half of them can be identified as from the area west of the Patuxent River.

There is nothing in the record to support the conclusion reached by Mathews that the inhabitants of the Patuxent River drainage area ever were in Charles County. Clearly they were in Calvert County from 1654 to 1695 and in Prince George's County after 1695.

Independently of my research, Mr. Joseph H. Smith of New York, who was working with Prince George's County Court Records at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, discovered that in Liber A, 1696-99, many of the cases had been transferred from Calvert County. He was surprised at this, after having learned from Mathews that Prince George's County was supposed to have been erected out of Charles County. Upon hearing of my interest

in the subject, he kindly made a closer search of the transferred cases and found none from Charles County. This furnished a welcome corroboration to my position that Prince George's County was erected primarily out of Calvert County.

MELVILLE IN BALTIMORE

George E. Gifford, Jr.

Herman Melville gave a lecture on the *South Seas* at the Universalist Church, Calvert Street, Baltimore, on the evening of February 8, 1859. This was the tenth lecture in a series by The Mercantile Library Association. The Baltimore *Sun* of that morning had the following announcement:

> Who has not read with delight the charming books of Life and Adventure in the South Seas, by Herman Melville? They first truly presented to the world men and manners in this enchanting region. The Mercantile Library Lecture this evening will present their author as a public speaker, and we know of no one half as well qualified as he to transport us, in fancy, to the ever clear sky and ever green shores of the Pacific islands—to observe the strange life of a people to whom nature offers, without labor, a perpetual feast—or to lead us on the dashing adventures of whale fishing in the surrounding seas.

Melville received $100 for this lecture in Baltimore; this was the largest sum he had received from any of his lectures. At this time of his life, Melville tried to eke out a small income from his books and his farm by lecturing.[1] According to Howard, "a handsome hundred-dollar engagement in Baltimore reported with flattering fullness by the press, did nothing to destroy his good humor."[2] The report given in the *Sun* on February 9 follows:

> His subject was "The South Seas," being a narrative of personal experiences among the Archipelagoes, and the Polynesian isles that lie scattered through that ocean, like stars in the heavens. His subject, the lecturer said, was literally an expansive one, and embraced an arena he would not dare say how much. He would not repeat old sayings, or summon back the memories of old voyagers, but would paddle along among its aspects at large, whether personal or otherwise.
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> The name South Seas, generally applied to this body of water is synonymous with Pacific ocean, which was afterwards applied to it because of the tranquility of its waters. Little was known of the

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[1] Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 367-71.

[2] Leon Howard, *Herman Melville, A Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), p. 261.

" South Seas " by Americans until 1848—The discovery of gold in California, in that memorable year, first opened the Pacific and made its waters a thoroughfare for American ships. Much might be said of the finny inhabitants of this waste of waters—of the sword-fish, and the tilts he runs with ships; of the devil-fish, and the weird yarns of the sailors concerning him. The lecturer only wondered the great naturalist, Agassiz, did not pack his carpet bag and betake him to Nantucket, and from thence to the South Seas—the argosy of wonders. The birds, also, in their variety and strange plumage—birds never seen elsewhere—were a study.

The South Seas, or Pacific Ocean, is reckoned to embrace one-half of the earth's surface, or an expanse of one hundred millions of square miles. Explorations have failed to rend away the veil of its mysteries, and every expedition thither has brought discoveries of new islands until on our maps the ink of one is run into another. A lone inhabitant on one of these islands would be as effectually separated from his fellow man as the inhabitant of another world. They would be good asylums, the lecturer said, for the free lovers and Mormons to rear their pest houses in—provided the natives, degraded as they are, did not object.

The lecturer spoke of several adventurers who went in search of mystical spots, said to be embosomed somewhere in these seas. They were like those who went to Paradise—they probably found the good they sought, for they never returned more. There were only two places where adventurers can most effectually disappear, and they are London and the South Seas.

The lecturer spoke of the " beach hovers," a class of adventurers, or those cast by chance upon the Polynesian Isles. This cognomen was derived from the fact that they always hovered upon the shores, and seemed every moment on the point of embarking or disembarking. He also alluded to the natives and their modes of tattooing. Unless a man submits to be tattooed, he is looked upon as damned, which was the case with the speaker, as he frequently resisted the importunities of the native artists to sit. The tattooing, like the uniform of a soldier, is here symbolical of the Isle, or class to which the person belongs. The lecture abounded in interesting personal narratives, and held the interest of the audience to the close.

A BUCHANAN LETTER ON THE "CORRUPT BARGAIN" OF 1825

CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR.

Pennsylvania's James Buchanan was the somewhat casual source of the "bargain and corruption" charge raised by the Jacksonians against the political marriage of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams in the contested presidential election of 1824. Pressed with all the vigor Jackson democrats could muster, the charge, on the one hand, materially aided in Jackson's elevation to the White House in 1828, while on the other, it persistently dogged the footsteps of John Quincy Adams and diminished the political stature of Henry Clay. Yet ironically the charge exploited so skillfully by Jackson men in the mid-twenties came home to roost on Buchanan's doorstep in 1856 when Maryland Old Line Whigs scored the Pennsylvanian "as the man who, above all others, knew the utter falsity of the calumnious charge of 'bargain and corruption' and who, through partisan animosity, not only withheld his testimony but indirectly countenanced and promulgated the charge." [1] Since Buchanan's presidential candidacy drew strength from both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line and rested heavily on the non-controversial character of his political past—a qualification of importance in the stormy days of the mid-fifties—the resolution of the Maryland Whigs greatly disturbed and provoked him.

Whatever weight is assigned the Whig counter-charge and Buchanan's reply, it is well to see them in perspective. During the contested election in 1824-5, Buchanan, who was friendly to both Clay and Jackson and was anxious to ease both out of a difficult situation, met with Jackson in Gadsby's Hotel and provided him during a subsequent walk with a piece of gossip no one else had had the temerity to offer him.[2] The gist of the gossip which allegedly came to Buchanan from friends of Clay was briefly as follows: friends of Adams had approached friends of Clay with an offer to make Clay Secretary of State in return for the Kentuckian's help in making Adams President. Clay men, however, let it be known through Buchanan that they did not wish the West "to separate from the West," a way of asking what bounty Jacksonians were prepared to place on the altar of Clay's ambition. Such was the substance of Buchanan's intelligence to Jackson; the answer was Jackson's retort that he would see the earth open and swallow up Clay, his friends, and himself before yielding to such a bargain. Only a few weeks after Buchanan's interview with Jackson,[3] and just two weeks prior to the decision of the House on

[1] Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*, July 11, 1856. The Whigs met in Baltimore on July 10.

[2] Buchanan first asked Major Eaton, then Representative George Kremer, to pass the gossip on to Jackson: both refused.

[3] Buchanan claimed the interview took place Dec. 30, 1824; Jackson said it was early January, 1825.

the election, the Philadelphia *Columbian Observer* [4] reported a bargain in the making between Clay and Adams. George Kremer who had earlier refused to convey Buchanan's information to Jackson was the author of the article; the source of this information which was to give Jackson men such an effective, if blunt, political instrument was James Buchanan.[5]

The origins of the "bargain" were not at once fully explored; no one seems to have understood that there might have been another side to it. Then in 1827 when Jackson was pressed for substantiation of the story he naturally urged Buchanan—and Jackson's urgings were tantamount to demands—to confirm what he had said about the proposed bargain by naming names. The Pennsylvanian was in a precarious position. Originally he had sought merely to encourage Jackson to let Clay know that Adams would be dropped as State Secretary if the General won the Presidency. Yet while Buchanan's motives may not have been sordid, his course was maladroit, for by implication such a statement from Jackson would have been construed to mean that Clay could have the Cabinet post for services rendered and this in itself left room for the Adams faction's countercharges. Even more uncharacteristically Buchanan took another chance that exposed him to charges of still more serious import. Completely without authorization from Jackson, he met with Clay and Robert Letcher in the lodgings of the latter, and remarked that if Jackson were elected he would not look outside the room for his Secretary of State. The room was Letcher's; the choice was Clay. Buchanan obviously put Clay in position to brand the Jacksonians for an attempt to cement a bargain of their own, but at the Pennsylvanian's request Clay kept the matter under wraps until its revelation by his biographer in 1846.[6] Meanwhile, however, Buchanan's reply to Jackson's promptings was a tedious and disappointingly ambiguous letter which both Republican factions made maximum use of, a letter conspicuous for its failure to mention the meeting with Clay and Letcher.[7]

It was mainly for this notable omission that the gathering of Maryland Whigs arraigned the Democratic candidate in 1856, and it was their censure that prompted him to write the following letter to Senator James A. Pearce of Maryland: [8]

Private

My dear Sir, 12 July '56

. . . I have been both astonished & grieved at the unfounded charge made against me by the Whig Convention of Maryland. From the boast-

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[4] Jan. 25, 1825.

[5] John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Publication No. 371, 1928), III, 281-2. Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1938), Chapters XXV, XXVI, and 845-846 notes.

[6] See Calvin Colton, *The Life and Times of Henry Clay* (New York, 1846), I, 418 ff., and Calvin Colton letter, Baltimore *American*, July 12, 1856.

[7] Lancaster *Journal*, Aug. 8, 1827.

[8] James A. Pearce Papers. Maryland Historical Society. Two paragraphs of non-political matter at the beginning of the letter have been omitted.

ings of the Black Republicans I had reason to suspect that the Maryland Whigs would, though unconsciously, play into their hands; though I could not for a moment have imagined they would make an assault upon me.

In regard to what is called "the bargain," my conduct was as pure as truth itself. General Jackson had entirely misapprehended a conversation, the only one I ever had with him, on the subject of the then Presidential election. I related the whole of this conversation exactly as [it] took place on the street in Washington in my letter of August 1827 to the Editor of the Lancaster Journal. At the time, many of the friends of General Jackson were dissatisfied with it; but those of Mr. Clay considered it a triumphant refutation of the charge. I went out of my way in 1828 in my speech on Chilton's resolutions [9] to repeat that I knew nothing of any such bargain; & for this I was censured by some of my political friends, who thought I had said enough in my letter of Aug: 1827.

I regret that this old story has been revived by the Whig Convention of Maryland; because it may compel me in necessary self defence to make a publication on the subject which would at least exonerate myself from every possible imputation. I shall not do this however without necessity. The subject is better understood by the Whigs of other portions of the union.

Yours very respectfully

James Buchanan

Hon: James A. Pearce

A ROBERT E. LEE LETTER TO P. G. T. BEAUREGARD

On May 4, 1956, Alice Beauregard Morse, wife of Colonel Edward Morse (author of the article on Blakeford in the December, 1955, issue of the *Magazine*) died suddenly. Mrs. Morse was a granddaughter of General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, C. S. A., (1818-1893). In compliance with what she would have wished, and as a memorial to her, Colonel Morse presented to the Maryland Historical Society the letter printed below from Robert E. Lee to Beauregard.

The letter was written while Lee was in Baltimore building Fort Carroll. To this assignment Lee had applied himself with ingenuity since November 15, 1848, in the face of a continued failure on the part of Congress to appropriate sufficient funds for the project. The foundations of the fort were completed by May 28, 1852, when Lee received notice that he was to relieve Captain Henry Brewington of the superintendency of the Military Academy. Reluctant to accept the political "plum" which had been handed to him, he asked that someone else be appointed to the post.

[9] Register of Debates, 20 Cong., 1 Sess. 1827-1828, IV, part 1, pp. 1360-1377. John Bassett Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan* (1908), I, 286-312.

The Department refused to make a substitution and Lee dutifully acquiesced. On September 1, 1852, be became ninth superintendent of the United States Military Academy. Curiously, Beauregard, to whom Lee so freely expressed his dislike of the new assignment, also became superintendent of the Academy for a period of five days. He reported January 23, 1861, and had his orders revoked January 28.[1]

Baltimore 25 June 1852

My dearest Beaury

" It is an ill wind that blows no good," and but for this unwished for breeze that is driving me towards W[est]. P[oint]. I fear I should never have heard from you. The reception of your letter has been the only pleasurable emotion produced by the order, which is the first I ever received that I did not at once commence to obey. I have been wanting to hear from you badly, and have not yet got over my disappoint—at missing you when in Mobile. I am glad to find that you are well and hearty. Long may you remain so. You are right in your conjecture of my not being pleased at being ordered to W. P. I know too well the thanklessness of the duty, and the impossibility of either giving or receiving satisfaction. I have been behind the scenes too long. I know exactly how it works. The Supt. can do nothing right and must father every wrong. I requested, if I was allowed any option in the matter, that some other be appointed in my place. I have been told it cannot be done. I shall therefore have to go and am to relieve Capt. B. in the first day of September. I shall endeavour to do my duty, and to consult the interests of the Academy in every particular. My reluctance to the service shall make no difference in my wishes or efforts, for the maintenance and advancement of an institution upon which I believe the standing of the Army, and military success of the country, mainly depends. But I shall get away from it as soon as I can. I agree with you entirely in the advantages to be derived from giving the Professors an opportunity to visit foreign Institutions, and of enlarging and liberalizing their sentiments on the wide subject of education and instruction. I have advocated it for years. But the narrow policy of our people and government forbids it. As soon as it was found that a Professor was sent off on such an errand the appropriation for his maintenance at the Academy, would be stricken off. Neither could they meet the expenses of such a mission without a proper allowance, and where could that be obtained from? It is also difficult to get the proper officers to go there as assistant teachers. The service is not sought for by those best qualified in general to perform it, nor will they do anything to make it attractive. To get them at all, you must catch them young, before they

[1] See Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography.* Vol. I (New York and London, 1934) Chap. XVIII; T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard; Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1954); and George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy,* 2 vols. (New York, 1868).

have gained experience in their profession, or enable them to leave a more disagreeable position. Bad alternatives both. But we must take it as we find it Beaury and make the best of it. If you were with me I should hope to succeed. But you must come on and see me.

There is a great assemblage of Engineer Officers in Washington at this time. The whole Pacific Board to commence with, Col. Smith at their head. Dutton & Wright of the Florida reef, and the Engineer of Pensacola Harbour. G. W. Smith passed through here on his way from there, a few days since. Stevens Foster, and Hunt of the Coast Survey, and others in the Engineer Bureau, make a goodly show. Congress will be alarmed to see so many fine officers idle. Look out for retrenchment when the Appropriation Bill comes up. I have not been to W[ashington]. since the Christmas Holydays. Can therefore tell you nothing of the future. I shall work up the little balance of the former appropriation by the time I leave. The Sub-marine work goes on well. The foundation piles are driven, sawed off and prepared with ease and precision by steam machinery, for the reception of the stone work. The stone is laid by a diving bell in 15 ft water, at the rate of 100 rectilineal feet of wall, 2 ft high, a day; after the bottom course is laid. If we had have had sufficient funds, the whole wall would have been up to low water level this season. As it is two faces are brought to that point, and we have turned in the third. Brewerton takes my place here. I wish they had have left us as we were.

That young cadet of mine is with me now. This is his furlough year. Several of his comrades are also in Baltimore. Young Jerome Bonaparte, grand-nephew to the Emperor, graduates this year, and has brought with him 3 of his classmates. Casey, (son of Capt. C. of the Army and 1st of his class) Ives and Polk.[2] We had them all with us last night, together with the young officers on the Station, and all the pretty young girls of sweet 16—They were a merry set and talked so much they could hardly find time to eat a few raspberries and ices. They did contrive to swallow a little Champagne.

I do not know how my son will come out this examination. The standing was not published when he left. He thinks he will not be below 2nd, his comrades say 1st.[3] Either will do, if he deserves it. I am glad to hear Barnard is improving. Remember me to him. Also to your handsome boys and believe me always your friend

R E Lee

Major P. G. T. Beauregard
U. S. Engrs

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[2] Lee's son, George Washington Custis Lee, was in the Class of 1854. His classmates mentioned here were Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Thomas Lincoln Casey, Joseph Christmas Ives and Marshall Tate Polk.

[3] Robert E. Lee achieved second rank in the Class of 1829 at the Academy, Beauregard was second in the Class of 1838, and both took class rank seriously. When " Custis " commenced at the Academy, he was inclined to be indolent, but his father constantly encouraged him to vie for top honors. G. W. Custis Lee graduated first in his class.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Present State of Virginia. By HUGH JONES. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by RICHARD L. MORTON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (published for the Virginia Historical Society), 1956. xiv, 295 pp. $5.

The current vogue for reprinting outstanding pieces of Americana is most commendable, and the appearance of Hugh Jones's *Present State of Virginia* is more than welcome. Long familiar to students of the life and culture of the Old Dominion in the early eighteenth century, it has been hard to come by, even in the Sabin edition of 1865. From the viewpoint of this magazine's readers, Jones offers little direct information about Maryland (less than a page, in fact), but indirectly his comments on the aborigines, the country, tobacco culture, commerce, and kindred subjects are interesting and instructive.

The new features of this edition of Jones are the Introduction and the Notes by Richard Lee Morton of the College of William and Mary, a diligent scholar learned in this period of Virginia history. The Introduction supplies all the facts known about the Reverend Hugh Jones and adds materially to the story of his career in Maryland. After returning to England and publishing his *Present State*, Mr. Jones assumed charge of William and Mary Parish in Charles County, and later became the minister of North Sassafras Parish, both of them in Maryland. A student of mathematics, he dabbled in calendar reform and played a prominent part in the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary controversy. These and other facts Mr. Morton chronicles as he establishes with convincing evidence the fact that there were three Hugh Joneses and carefully distinguishes his man from the others. One question, alone, arises: which Hugh Jones wrote "An Account of Maryland," for the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, III, 604?

More space is given to the Notes than to either the Introduction or the text. These notes are full of useful information and references to authorities and sources; the close student will find them of real value. It is perhaps unfortunate that the editor did not make them more readily usable by condensing the data and eliminating references to obvious secondary works and familiar facts. Often, too, he could have assisted the neophyte by taking a stand on such controversial questions as the ascription by modern writers of the college edifice in Williamsburg to Sir Christopher Wren, a conclusion which does not seem to be borne out by

the text, or on the origin and nature of the Virginia ruling class—a perennial problem.

The Virginia Historical Society, under the vigorous leadership of John Jennings has recently published several valuable works on our early history, and this edition of Jones by Mr. Morton adds further distinction to this list.

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

University of California

John Filson of Kentucke. By JOHN WALTON. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1956. xiv, 130 pp., map. $4.

John Filson's claim to a place in the pages of history rests on surprisingly scant foundations. Born in 1753 of Scotch-Irish parents, he taught school in Delaware during the American Revolution, then in the autumn of 1783 drifted to Kentucky with land speculation in mind. Having acquired 12,000 acres of good land, he conceived the idea that was to rescue him from obscurity: a book and a map that would advertise Kentucky, thus luring customers who might buy his precious acres. The resulting *Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, published in October, 1784, caught the imagination of a people just awakening to the romanticism of the frontier, partly because the thirty-three pages devoted to Daniel Boone gave the nation its first folk hero. George Washington, however, was unwilling to give the volume the endorsement required by the printers for a second edition, and Filson started west again in the spring of 1785. After another land-buying venture in Vincennes, he returned to Kentucky where he toyed with plans for a school, fought a series of law suits, and finally in 1788 joined two other speculators in a scheme to found a city on the Ohio that he burdened with the name of Losantiville. John Filson did not live to see his dream village rise as the city of Cincinnati; in September, 1788, he was killed by Indians while helping explore the valley of the Great Miami River.

Such a scant record of achievement would hardly inspire the usual biographer, but fortunately John Walton does not fit such a mold. A distant relative of John Filson, he has brought to his task a sense of dedication that transcends the practical. This has allowed him to spend years in searching out every scrap of evidence concerning Filson's uneventful career, and hours in careful and thoughtful interpretation of his inadequate documents. The result is a biography that should stand the test of time, as well as providing both fruitful and pleasant hours to today's readers. The publishers have added immeasurably by fashioning a book that is not only pleasingly designed and handsomely illustrated, but that has ample documentation where it belongs—at the bottom of the pages. Best of all, they include in a rear pocket a brilliant reproduction of Filson's 1784 map of Kentucky, an item that in itself is worth the price of the volume.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

Northwestern University

An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson. Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN and LEO F. STOCK. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956. xi, 382 pp. $6.

Without doubt this will be the most important book in American historiography to be published this year, perhaps this decade. Two capable scholars (both lately deceased) who knew J. Franklin Jameson well and worked under his direction have selected and edited about 500 letters written by him and extracts from his diary through the years 1880-1937. The selection was judicious; the range wide with respect to time, persons, and subjects; the editing precise, restrained, impeccable. The introduction, by Miss Donnan is quietly brilliant. Great as is her admiration of Jameson and dedication to his memory, she has her facts in hand and her judgment under control. Our confidence in the editors' judgment and diligence had only increased when we turned the last page. Their final effort, a triumphant success, is a cornerstone for the biography of Jameson and the history of American historical writing which must be written. Happily, the Jameson Papers are to be in the Library of Congress where no doubt they can soon be consulted generally.

The Jameson letters have a fullness of thought and an exactness of language that must have made them as welcome to receive as they are to read today. In rapid order we find his comment on Herbert B. Adams and his friendships around the dinner table and in the seminar with many of the men who were to teach and write history for fifty years. If the illustration used as a frontispiece shows us an austere gentleman, let it be mentioned that in his youth Jameson boxed, played the flute, took long walks, and all his life wrote poetry including the Johns Hopkins *alma mater*. The eight years Jameson spent in Baltimore were crucial ones in his development. He entered Johns Hopkins University just after his 21st birthday. His was the first Ph. D. in history given by the University (1882), and he remained for six years as a Fellow in History. From 54 (and later from 1017) McCulloch Street as well as from the University seminars, Jameson first softened and enlarged a severe New England outlook. He knew as professors, lecturers, or students all the Hopkins history men of the early decades—D. C. Gilman, H. B. Adams, Henry C. Adams, Thorstein Veblen, Albert Shaw, Woodrow Wilson, M. C. Tyler, and many others. Not long before Jameson came to Baltimore, H. B. Adams had delivered at the Maryland Historical Society a lecture on *Maryland's Influence in Founding A National Commonwealth* (Baltimore, 1877), Fund Publication 11. The letters Jameson wrote from Baltimore not only reveal much of his formative years but add new facets to the cultural history of Baltimore in the last century.

Subsequently Jameson taught at Brown University and at the University of Chicago before accepting the historical research position of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. While at Brown he became, in 1895, the first editor of the *American Historical Review* which he edited

until 1901 and again from 1905 to 1928. Those who know the effort it takes to edit a smaller journal will understand one of the reasons Jameson wrote no multi-volumed history. At the Carnegie Institution Jameson quickly settled into his job as principal spokesman for the profession of history. Carnegie representatives searched out records vital to American history in foreign capitols (especially important to original states like Maryland), and Guide after Guide issued from the presses. Leland was in Paris; Stock was soon at work on the *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments; Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* were edited by Burnett. Miss Donnan edited *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade.* That important tool, the *Writings on American History*, appeared annually. The *Dictionary of American Biography* was successfully completed, and the *Atlas of Historical Geography* appeared. The campaign to erect the National Archives building began, and Jameson lived to see the finished structure and the thriving institution.

The projects listed are only some of the highlights, represented in the letters, of a quarter century of activity while at the Carnegie Institution and a decade as Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. With it all Jameson served on innumerable committees, held uncounted offices, advised on the qualifications of many young scholars (for he had a judicial mind and was outside the academic circle), served as a clearing house for ideas and projects, and generally represented history in and from the Nation's capitol city. (Some will regret that some lesser projects like a directory of sons-in-law and similar relationships never appeared!)

In the jargon, which assuredly he would have deplored, of this latter day Jameson would have been called Mr. History or the historian's historian. Yet he was Amherst, not Harvard; American-, not German-trained; the touchstone of basic projects, not the writer of a great history; the quiet fellow who did hard, necessary work, not the founder of a "school" of history. It has been said of Jameson by Waldo Leland that he had no predecessor and would have no successor. This book offers abundant evidence that those words were truly spoken.

FRED SHELLEY

New Jersey Historical Society

The Desolate South, 1865-1866. A Picture of the Battlefields and of the Devastated Confederacy. By JOHN T. TROWBRIDGE; edited by GORDON CARROLL. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce; Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956. XVI, 320 pp. $6.00.

"There never was any age better than this," wrote John T. Trowbridge in the months after Appomattox—"none that produced a more heroic race of men. We have worshipped the past long enough; it is time now to look a little into the merits of the present. Troy, and Greece, and Rome were admirable in their day, and the men of Israel did some doughty

deeds; but the men of New England, of the great Middle States, and of the vast Northwest, what have they not done?" Thus did this well-known Northern author appraise the martial feats of his own generation. Appearing in a very limited edition in 1866 under the title, *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities*, this excellent contemporary account of the war's most famous scenes was immediately acclaimed as one of the best of its kind in existence. Now long out of print, this Civil War classic has been edited and condensed by Gordon Carroll, and reissued as, *The Desolate South, 1865-1866*. While specialists in the field will still seek out the full, original edition, the modern lay reader will welcome the reappearance of this sprightly, flavorful, well-written work in its present form.

John Trowbridge was from Monroe County, New York. Before he was twenty he was writing poetry and prose for publication. His success was instant and lasting, so much so that he refrained from military service.

Upon the defeat of Lee at Appomattox, Trowbridge—now a well-known literary figure—embarked on an extensive tour of the battlefields and cities of the late Confederacy. "I made acquaintance," he writes, "with officers and soldiers of both sides. I followed in the track of the destroying armies. I traveled by railroad, by steamboat, by stagecoach, and by private conveyance; conversing with all sorts of people from high state officials to 'low-down' Negroes." His quest was a rewarding one. Some of his descriptions of battlefields, northern and southern communities, and representative individuals are of surpassing quality. In the agonizing aftermath of war, he maintained a surprisingly high degree of objectivity, which failed him on but few occasions. The vast panoply which was America in the months after Grant and Lee shook hands is portrayed in Trowbridge's pages with the touch of an artist, the sympathy of an enlightened Unionist, and the immediacy of a pilgrim. The work is likely to remain as one of the brightest pages in post-Civil War reporting.

The book is arranged by chapters, each chapter being devoted to a significant battlefield or city of the war. Beginning at Gettysburg, Trowbridge was privileged in being conducted over the field by the old citizen-hero of the First Day's battle, John Burns. The northern writer was much impressed by the new Soldiers' National Cemetery, still under construction after having been dedicated in November, 1863, by Abraham Lincoln. "I looked into one of the trenches," he writes, "where workmen were laying foundations for headstones and saw the ends of coffins protruding. It was silent and dark down there. Side by side the soldiers slept, as side by side they fought."

Interesting to Marylanders is the section concerning the western part of the Old Line state. Trowbridge was evidently not pleased with what he saw of Boonsboro, stating, "The traveler's most pleasant experience of Boonsboro is leaving it. The town contains about nine hundred inhabitants, and the wonder is how so many human souls can rest content to live in such a moldy, lonesome place. Leave it behind you as soon as convenient . . ." Nor was his view of Sharpsburg any more favorable. But South Mountain, and the Federal success there under McClellan, impressed

Trowbridge. His lines here concerning the 1866 aspect of the battlefield, the moldering soldier-dead lying scattered about, and the run-down condition of the temporary graves make for a moving passage. On the Antietam field, near Sharpsburg, he was struck by the horrors remaining from the bloodiest single day in American history. "I picked up a skull lying loose on the ground like a cobblestone," he relates. "It was that of a young man; the teeth were all splendid and sound. How hideously they grinned at me! and the eye sockets were filled with dirt." A fine sketch of Maryland Heights—overlooking Harper's Ferry—rounds out this section.

Other historical places, with names that are now legendary, are described with an authentic ring by Trowbridge, especially Fredericksburg, Chattanooga, Petersburg, and Richmond. Not as brilliant are his word-pictures of Bull Run, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, and Fort Sumter. And somewhat disappointing are the chapters devoted to Chancellorsville, Vicksburg, Atlanta, and New Orleans.

That Trowbridge was able to span the gulf between North and South in his valuable study of the Valhallas of "Our War" may be seen from his recorded musings in the then-new National Cemetery at Antietam: "Here let the dead rest together, they of the good cause and they of the evil; I shall be content. For neither was the one cause altogether good nor was the other altogether bad: the holier being clouded by much ignorance and selfishness, and the darker one brightened here and there with glorious flashes of self-devotion. It was not, rightly speaking, these brothers that were at war. The conflict was waged between two great principles—one looking towards liberty and human advancement, the other madly drawing the world back to barbarism and the Dark Ages. America was the chessboard on which the stupendous game was played, and those we name Patriots and Rebels were but the pawns."

It is good to have this stimulating, perspicacious classic reissued, even though in the process Gordon Carroll has felt obliged to throw out some of the wheat with the chaff, and to refrain from supplying annotations which would be of use.

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

The Pennsylvania State University

The Presbyterian Enterprise: Sources of American Presbyterian History. By MAURICE W. ARMSTRONG, LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER and CHARLES A. ANDERSON. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956. 320 pp. $4.50.

To the rapidly growing field of research in American colonial history here is a carefully edited source book to add to the libraries of the world. It is a product from the pen of three competent historians. Professor Maurice W. Armstrong is a member of the faculty of Ursinus College and Professor Lefferts A. Loetscher of the faculty of Princeton

Theological Seminary. Dr. Charles A. Anderson is director of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia.

Out of the vast collection of journals, diaries, periodicals and minutes of various judicatories, they have gathered together a sampling of the most significant documents. A few words from the foreword of the book makes perfectly clear the intention of the authors:

> The book makes no narrow denominational emphasis. It will be equally enjoyable to the scholar and to the average reader. Here we see the fear of change, the struggle for religious security, the adjustment to the advance of science, the broadening church. . . . The thread of religious liberty weaves itself into the Church from start to finish. Throughout its history the Church has laid a strong emphasis on an educated ministry. Again and again we find the Church making a vigorous effort to spiritualize American life. Knowing that their fathers had suffered grievous persecution in Europe, the colonists continued vigorous opposition to all attempts to plant State Churches in this country. Tensions between liberals and conservatives have sometimes risen to high pitch. Early in our American History Presbyterians adopted a Confession of Faith which allows for wide differences in interpretations of beliefs. Tolerance is a delicate plant which still needs cultivation.

The documents date from 1706 at which time the first surviving Presbytery was formed in Philadelphia by Francis Makemie. From that remote date down to the present the book presents a series of significant documents. In effect these trace accurately the history of the church from its early colonial beginnings, through the decades of expansion as our country became a great nation and finally down to the present concerns of the church. Taken as a whole it presents a profile sufficiently clear so that a general reader, as well as a scholar, will have a fair picture of the developing life of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America.

The format of the book is to be commended as well as the arrangement of its sections and its explanatory material. Some of the documents which reach back into the colonial era of our nation contain some highly interesting descriptions of primitive life among the Indian tribes, as well as the customs that prevailed among the churches. The latter part of the book contains documents relating both to the internal affairs of the Presbyterians and their interest and effort in the general trend toward the unity of the churches in the ecumenical (the whole family) movement.

John H. Gardner, Jr.

Picture History of the U. S. Navy. By THEODORE ROSCOE AND FRED FREEMAN. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1956. Unpaged, 1011 Illustrations. $12.50.

A busy dentist should welcome this book for his waiting room library. It is too large and heavy to be accidentally borrowed, and a sore tooth, or the apprehension of one, will prevent any reasonably knowledgeable reader from noting the multitude of faults and errors.

From cover to cover it is obvious the authors have no conception of what such a book should be. There has been a complete lack of any critical faculty in the choice of pictures. The authors show an equal lack of knowledge of maritime technology and only a slender knowledge of naval history. Either proof reading or manuscript preparation has been faulty and the sloppiness of the credits to actual sources shows conclusively that the authors have only the slightest first-hand acquaintance with the pictures they have used.

A few examples which concern Maryland will make clear this book's worth to a serious student of naval history and iconography. Picture number 48 calls Captain Lambert Wickes of Kent County a " Maryland lobsterman " although all the lobsters ever caught in Maryland would not fill a crab barrel. Number 47 gives us a portrait of an officer resplendent in the uniform of the 1830's captioned as James Nicholson " Chesapeake squire " and senior captain of the Continental Navy; evidently the authors are unaware that Nicholson ended his service in 1783, died in 1804, and that there were at least two other James Nicholsons in the Navy in later years, one of whom is doubtless depicted here. Number 50 is Joshua Barney dressed in all the effeminate finery of a French naval captain in spite of a Charles Willson Peale portrait of him when a Continental naval officer and a Rembrandt Peale portrait of War of 1812 vintage. In connection with Nicholson and Barney the frigate *Virginia* (built at Baltimore with the former as commander and the latter as first lieutenant) is said to have been captured by the British after running aground off Annapolis when actually the ship was taken on the Middle Ground between Cape Charles and Cape Henry. In the War of 1812 John Stricker is named as the defender of Baltimore with no mention of sundry others including General Samuel Smith. According to number 392, if the Maryland Historical Society needs to know the whereabouts of its original manuscript of the *Star Spangled Banner* they will find it in The National Archives.

Just in case one might think the authors have a peeve at Maryland, the rest is just as bad. Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia is said to have resigned from the Royal Navy to fight in the Continental fleet: if so, he was a far sighted man since he came home from Britain in 1774. Captain Timothy Boardman of Connecticut is said to have lost the privateer *Oliver Cromwell* to HMS *Beaver*, which thereby saves the face of Captain Harmon Courter who happened to be the man on the spot and landed a prisoner of war for it. Number 171 shows the French fleet leaving Boston—" farewell gesture to inhospitable Boston " the authors say, but clearly depicted in the background are lateen rigged chebecs, pretty good evidence it was inhospitable

Toulon or Marseilles saying farewell, not Boston. Number 13 is titled "Taking the Weather Gauge" and goes on to explain the importance of the manoeuver in sailing days, but the illustration shows a frigate running free, before the wind, and another with sails aback, virtually stationary.

Twenty-six reproductions of original paintings owned by one museum are credited to five others. Seven owned by another museum are gratuitously donated to three other institutions. In one instance the late publisher of the Boston *Globe* is said to be the artist who executed a painting dated many decades before he was born. An engraving of the frigate *Boston* built in 1799 is captioned as the *Boston* of 1776. One illustration is used three times in its entirety, and frequently details of paintings are used as complete pictures. A picture of John Paul Jones' first command, the sloop *Providence*, we are told is from an "Old Print"; actually it is from a drawing by the late George Wales, ca. 1920-30. Picture 381 is titled "Ship *Osage*," but the picture shows a two-masted schooner. 492 "Mutiny on Barque *Oscar*" calls the *Oscar* a naval vessel (she was really a whaler with the whale boats clearly shown) in one sentence and two sentences later denies she is "on the regular navy list." For the sentimental there is a picture of the "Tomb of the Unknown Sailor"—photograph of a blank piece of water which could have been taken from the good old ship *Bay Belle* as she plugged down the Patapsco to fight fried chicken, soft crabs, and hot dogs at Tolchester or Betterton or wherever.

So the book goes. Frankly the reviewer could not get through it—up to the Civil War was enough. But even though it has no value, if the book can divert attention from that aching tooth, it will have been of some utility.

MARION V. BREWINGTON

Peabody Museum, Salem Mass.

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 11 and 12. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1955. 704 pp.; 706 pp. $10, each.

There are now an even dozen Jefferson Papers volumes on the shelves representing about twenty per cent of the material to be printed. Volumes 11 and 12 cover all of 1787 and the early months of 1788. Jefferson's activities, both officially and unofficially, as Minister to France in this period are fully illuminated. The record of his trip to southern France makes for fascinating reading indeed and many a warm, languid day is recreated. The letters to and from Americans on personal matters and on public affairs at home including Shay's Rebellion and the Constitutional Convention together with letters interpreting America to others are full of interest and supply a further wealth of detail about the man and his times. To those familiar with the earlier volumes it need only be added that the previous editorial standards are maintained.

FRED SHELLEY

New Jersey Historical Society

Loyalist Clarks, Badgleys and Allied Families. By ESTELLE CLARK WATSON. Rutland, Vermont (Address inquiries to author, 2316 Thayer Street, Evanston, Illinois), 1954. xii, 329 pp.

This book is chiefly a record of the posterity of two men, Matthias Badgley (1771-1851) of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and Robert Clark (1774-1823) of Dutchess County, New York, each of whom settled at Ernesttown, now in Ontario, after the Revolutionary War. So far as one can tell, Badgley was a Loyalist only in association, while the career of Clark was typical of Canadian Loyalism. Their descendants are numerous and widely scattered.

Mrs. Watson's research has been thorough, and her guesses are helpful because they are labeled as conjectures and kept under control. She submits much information on various unrelated Clarks and Badgleys with whom her own family might otherwise be confused, and she offers many hints for further reading. The only serious criticism of her book that may be anticipated is that it is hard to use, since materials gathered with care were apparently organized in haste. In extenuation it may be pointed out that this volume actually comprises two volumes bound as one, each being equipped with its own exhaustive index.

Surely the multiplying ties of kinship between Canadians and citizens of Canada's southern neighbor contribute to our excellent international relationship. Mrs. Watson, a member of the D. A. R., is evidently one of many Americans who have come to understand and respect the traditions of both Revolutionary and Loyalist ancestors.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg

McNair, McNear, and McNeir Genealogies, Supplement 1955. Compiled by JAMES BIRTLEY MCNAIR. Los Angeles: privately printed, 1955. xviii, 457 pp. $9.75.

The Scottish family of McNair migrated extensively to America. The many descendants have been carefully traced by the compiler of this work. Maryland descendants of Thomas McNair and Nancy Burgess are included among the many McNairs of America. The text is attractively printed, with excellent illustrations and a detailed index. Copies may be procured by writing to the author at 818 South Ardmore Avenue, Los Angeles 5, California.

Early Records of Taliaferro County Georgia. Compiled and arranged by Alvin Mell Lunceford, Jr. Crawfordville, Georgia: privately printed, 1956. 126 pp. Paper, $5.

This source book of early records of Taliaferro County will be of considerable interest to Maryland families because of a post-Revolutionary migration of pioneers from Maryland who settled about 1788-1790 in the Raytown area of Taliaferro County, then Wilkes County, Georgia. The settlement was called Locust Grove and there, in 1790, was established the first Roman Catholic Church in the State of Georgia, the Church of the Purification; this church is still in existence. A log church was built in 1790 and a priest, Father John LeMoin, was sent from Baltimore sometime before that. Father LeMoin died of fever in Savannah in 1794 and was succeeded by the Rev. Fr. Gilbert LeMercier, also of Baltimore, who attended the churches at Locust Grove, Augusta, and Savannah. A few of the family names of early Marylanders who settled at Locust Grove were Billingslea, Cratin, Davis, Griffin, Inge, Luckett, Semmes, Smallwood and Thompson.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Parker Genealogy Prizes

Awards for the best genealogies of Maryland families will be given at the close of the year. Under provisions of the gift of Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, contestants are invited to submit papers before December 31, 1956. Since only two papers were entered in the 1955 contest, no prizes were awarded for last year. The worth of prizes this year conseqeuntly has been increased to: 1st, $50; 2nd, $30; 3rd, $20. Awards are made on the basis of thoroughness, accuracy, amount of interest in the family and clarity of presentation. Each paper must be typed and ready for general use.

Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration Commission

In order to carry out the functions given to it by Congress, this Commission is most anxious to learn of all Woodrow Wilson literature published or produced in this centennial year of Wilson's birth, and to obtain information about all activities and programs relating to the centennial. To this end we request the cooperation and help of the readers of this *Magazine* on the following matters:

1. The Commission requests that readers inform it of all books, articles and papers about Wilson published in 1956 and of all unpublished addresses and sermons bearing on Wilson and delivered in 1956. The Commission will also be grateful for copies of these materials. It will use them and the requested information in preparing a guide to the 1956 Wilson literature and also in assembling a special Woodrow Wilson Centennial Collection of the more significant portions of that literature, both published and unpublished.

2. The Commission also seeks information about all programs and activities relating to the Woodrow Wilson Centennial. Whatever the event—lecture series, discussion forum, library or school exhibit, TV or radio program, address, sermon, musical or dramatic presentation—the Commission asks readers to send it the following facts about any Centennial program that they know of: Date and place of the program, what group arranged it, what it included, who took part in it, and how many persons saw or heard it. Newspaper accounts are especially helpful.

Communications may be sent to:

The Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration Commission
Interior Building, Washington 25, D. C.

The Great Maryland Barrens

Mr. William B. Marye has kindly furnished the following additional information and corrections to his article on "The Great Maryland Barrens" which appeared in the March, June and September numbers of the *Magazine*, volume 50, 1955, pages 11-23, 120-142, 234-253.

Part I, p. 21, note 29: Gaypot and Bynian. It appears that these are the names of men for whom surveys had been made within the bounds of Benjamin Rogers' Reserve, a later survey. March 21, 1771, there was laid out for Martin Gaypot 109 acres, called Just and Good Reason, in the Reserve, on a branch of Black Rock Run. (Baltimore County Survey Book, 1771-1776, f. 63, Md. Hist. Soc.)

Part II, pp. 121-2, note 48: among significant names of surveys should be included Gorsuches Bare Barrens, 370 acres, laid out Dec. 29, 1770, in the Reserve, near Black Rock Run. (Baltimore County Survey Book, 1771-1776, f. 67, Md. Hist. Soc.); Montgomery's Desire, including St. Patrick's Purchase, March 20, 1771, for Wm. Montgomery, beginning at an oak standing "near the top of a Barren Hill known by the name of Slate Ridge," (now Harford County). (*Ibid.*, f. 83); and a tract of land not named, surveyed for Vincent Standifer, Oct. 15, 1772, beginning at 3 chesnut saplings on a ridge "between Woody Hill Run and the *lone tree bottom.*" (*Ibid.*, loose leaf in volume.) Woody Hill Run is now called the Third Mine Run. This record increases the number of *lone tree* place-names in the Barrens to three.

Part II, p. 142: evidence that the white settlers of Maryland deliberately set fire to the woods is the petition in 1735 of freeholders of Cecil County to the House of Burgesses against burning of the woods in said county. (*Archives of Maryland*, XXXIX, p. 229.)

Part III, p. 243, note 147: the author considers the subject of the primitive southern limits of the hemlock in Western Shore counties of Maryland to be of considerable interest. He has been asked, in this connection, to give proof that "Baker's Delight" is situated at that place on the Main Falls of Patapsco, formerly known as Air's Ford, where Ellicott's Upper Mills formerly stood. The reader is referred, first to Charles W. Evans *Biographical Account of the Fox, Ellicott and Evans Families* (1882), p. 31, where he will find an account of the beginnings of Ellicott's Upper Mills; secondly, to Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. A, folios 285-289: Deed, Jan. 21, 1777, George Wall, Jr., conveying to Joseph, Andrew, Nathaniel and John Ellicott, all his one half part (the said Ellicotts being already possessed of the other half), of three parcels of land, lying partly in Anne Arundel County, partly in Baltimore County, called "Baker's Delight," 40 acres, "Hood's Haven," 115 acres, and "Addn. To Hood's Haven," 2¾ acres, also 20 acres condemned for a grist mill, the whole lying together and forming one tract of land. It is recited that the aforesaid lands were conveyed by Benjamin Hood, one half the aforesaid Wall, the other half to the aforesaid Ellicott brothers, by deeds recorded in Anne Arundel County. The land so acquired by the Ellicotts became the site of their Upper Mills.

The Lower Mills were at Ellicott City. North Avenue (Baltimore City), if projected westwards, would strike the Falls near the site of Ellicott's Upper Mills.

Part III, p. 250, note 180: the author has found his note on wolves taken at the time when Dr. Keech passed on to him the information he had from his mother. Mrs. Keech spent a winter of the War of 1812 on a farm at Pikesville, where the Soldiers' Home later stood. There she heard the yelping (or howling) of wolves at night. Notes from Baltimore County Court Proceedings show that in 1683 bounty was paid on 35 wolves' heads; in 1684 bounty was paid on 21.

Part III, p. 253, concluding paragraph: the mystery of the wilderness is wonderfully developed in Joseph Conrad's well-known story, "Heart of Darkness."

Additional mention of the Barrens appears in the will of John Bond, of Baltimore County, dated Dec. 18, 1792. (Abstract in Cary Papers, Bundle 18, Md. Hist. Soc.) The testator directs that "my land in the Barrens" be sold and proceeds divided among children. I have not identified the land. *Descendants of Col. Thomas White*, p. 134, states that James W. Hall married in 1785 Sarah, daughter of Clement Brooke, of The Barrens, Baltimore County. The aforesaid Brooke owned upwards of a thousand acres on the North Branch of Patapsco Falls, called "Brooke's New Adventure." This land lay mostly in the valley of Roaring Run and on both sides of the Falls. (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 346-348.)

Errata: Part III, p. 243, note 148, line 1, "Ridon" should be "Rigdon"; p. 250, line 14, "woves" should be "wolves": note 181, line 6, "here" should be "her"; p. 251, note 187, line 6, "was" is omitted after "those parts."

Maryland League to Kentucky—I would like to hear from descendants, or persons who know about, the sixty Catholic families comprising the Maryland League to Kentucky which flourished at the end of the 18th century. Primarily from St. Mary's, Charles and Prince George's counties, these families (Simpson, Montgomery, Boone, Brown, Heard, Bean, Cissel, Jarboe, Worland—Edelen, Jenkins, etc.) migrated to the Bardstown, Ky. area.

Mrs. Earl J. Huggins, Jr.

The Pines, Route 1, Holts Summit, Mo.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES H. BOHNER of the English Department, University of Delaware, is completing a full-length biography of John Pendleton Kennedy, and as a result has explored many bypaths in Maryland literary and political history. ☆ CLIFTON K. YEARLEY, JR., Social Sciences Department, University of Florida, has written a number of articles on labor history and is now preparing for publication a book on Britons in American labor from 1860 to 1920. ☆ DOUGLAS GORDON is well-known to the readers of the *Magazine* for his articles and book reviews on local history. He is also an authority on French literature, fine books and bindings, and notable for his support of the cultural institutions in Baltimore, to mention but a few of his attainments. ☆ AUBREY C. LAND, Professor of History at the University of Nebraska, is the author of *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955). ☆ J. NINIAN BEALL, a prominent Washington attorney, has done extensive research in Maryland source materials in quest of information about his family in Prince George's County. ☆ GEORGE E. GIFFORD, JR., M. D., is interested in the contacts of major literary figures with Maryland and has uncovered a number of valuable footnotes to literary history as a result.

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Vol. 51, No. 4 December, 1956

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Francis C. Haber, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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George L. Radcliffe, President; James W. Foster, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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ENOCH PRATT AS PATRON OF EDWARD S. BARTHOLOMEW, SCULPTOR

By Alexandra Lee Levin

FEW people think of Enoch Pratt, Baltimore iron and coal merchant, financier, and donor of a magnificent public library, as a patron of art; yet to Enoch Pratt must go the credit for sponsoring the young American sculptor, Edward Sheffield Bartholomew. A packet of letters written by Enoch Pratt in the 1850's, two letters by Bartholomew and several old diaries found tucked away in the corner of an old battered trunk, overlooked and forgotten since 1882,[1] shed new light on the last years of Bartholomew's short life while he was a member of the flourishing colony of American artists then residing in Rome and Naples.

Born in 1822, young Bartholomew lived in Hartford, Con-

[1] These manuscripts are in the possession of the author. They are described in an article by William Stump, "Enoch Pratt Treasure Trove," Baltimore *Sunday Sun* Magazine, Sept. 16, 1956.

necticut. He is said to have been tall and dark, and of striking appearance, but with a nature so shy that he found it difficult to meet strangers. Restless and unhappy at home, he went to New York for a year's study at the "Antique and Life School" of the Academy of Design. Returning to Hartford he continued his art studies while working as curator of the Wadsworth Gallery. To his bitter disappointment it was discovered that he was color-blind, a serious defect in an artist. As a small boy he had loved to model in clay, so he now turned to another medium—sculpture. Again he journeyed to New York to attend lectures in anatomy, but misfortune struck a second time. Now he lay ill of smallpox which left him in such a weakened condition that he contracted a laming hip infection. Heretofore a vigorous and handsome young man, he remained for the rest of his short life unwell and a cripple.

At some period during the 1840's Enoch Pratt met Edward Bartholomew, a fellow New Englander, and in 1850 supplied young Bartholomew with a sizable sum of money which enabled him to go to Rome to study. Bartholomew applied himself particularly to bas-relief, studying under Luigi Ferrari, a well-known Italian sculptor. The first year was one of struggle and discouragement, but slowly he began to win recognition. Neo-classic in the treatment of his subjects, his style of sculpture was much admired by contemporary Americans. He used both classical and biblical themes and was fond of introducing unnecessary, though picturesque, accessories in his works. His execution was not always adequate, but he was making great strides in correcting this shortcoming. In time, he might possibly have risen to greater heights as a sculptor.

Bartholomew subsequently made only two trips back to America. On the first one he superintended the erection in the chapel at Doughoregan Manor of his monument to Charles Carroll of Carrollton which Carroll's grandson had commissioned him to execute in 1853 as a memorial to his illustrious ancestor, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1855 Enoch Pratt went on the European "Grand Tour." While in Rome he visited his protégé at his studio, No. 108 Via Margutta. My great-grandfather, John Knight, a retired cotton merchant from Natchez, Mississippi, was then wintering in Rome with his wife and daughter. Pratt and Knight were close friends,

and evidently Pratt had persuaded my great-grandfather to patronize Bartholomew. In John Knight's diary, under the date of February 19, 1855, appears the following entry: "Went to Bartholomew's studio and saw him moulding his 'Paradise Lost' (being Eve, the Serpent & apple). Also saw there Pratt's 'Shepherd Boy' in marble, finished."

To decorate the new town residence he had built at Park Avenue and Monument Street (now part of the Maryland Historical Society building), Enoch Pratt brought back with him from this trip several marble figures by Bartholomew.[2] Among these were: "Campaspe" and the "Shepherd Boy," now at the Peabody Institute; the busts of William Ellery Channing and of Henry Payson, gifts to the First Unitarian Church from Pratt, a staunch member of the congregation; and the bust of Pratt himself which, at present, searchingly scrutinizes all who alight from the elevators on the second floor of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Also at this time, the frugal and far-sighted Pratt commissioned Bartholomew to execute for him a tombstone—a tall pagoda-like shaft of red Scottish marble—under which he now lies buried in Greenmount Cemetery. Since Pratt lived until 1896 he had a good forty years in which to enjoy his own monument.

Under February 21, 1856, appears the notation in Mrs. Knight's diary that she sat for her bust that day in Bartholomew's studio. The following day Fanny, my grandmother, then a young lady of eighteen, had her first sitting. On December 31, 1856, Bartholomew wrote to Knight, who was then traveling:

> The busts are in beautiful marble and I have no doubt but will give you perfect satisfaction. I intend to go to America in the spring and hope then to see you. Rome is beginning to fill up with strangers, and the season promises to be a good one for artists. My studio looks much better than it did last winter and attracts a great deal of attention. I shall miss your influence. Carnival commences this year on the 14 February and apartments and hotels are filling up. The expense of living here is one fourth more than it was last winter, in fact many are deterred from coming to Rome on account of the dearness of everything. There are more Russians than of any other nation as this is the first year that permission has been

[2] The Maryland Historical Society owns a plaster bust of Millard Fillmore (1800-1874) by Bartholomew; a marble bas-relief of James Howard McHenry (1820-1888) portrayed in the character of Homer by Bartholomew in Rome, 1852; and a bas-relief of William George Read (1828-1878) in the character of Belisaurius executed in Rome in 1853.

granted *free* to the subjects of Russia to leave their country. Sixty thousand Russian passports have been signed since the war closed. From the police report at Paris there are thirty thousand Americans in Europe.

From Baltimore, August 13, 1857, Pratt wrote to Knight: "We have no information of the whereabouts of Mr. Bartholomew. We have been looking for him by every steamer and think he should be here soon, as he wrote he should leave Rome this summer as he was afraid to trust his health. We hope Mr. Bartholomew will get some orders if he comes here, as he needs them. You will no doubt aid him as you did before." In September Bartholomew arrived in Baltimore and stayed for a month at the home of Pratt.

Per Steamer "Arabia" from N. Y. to Liverpool

Baltimore November 23, 1857

John Knight, Esq.
Rome, Italy

Dear Sir:

Mr. Bartholomew was to leave in the steamer that takes this, but we fear will not get off as he has been detained by a public dinner at Hartford. He goes home with a good list of orders and I consider him now on a fair road to fame and fortune and reaping his just reward. He expects to stop in London and take the bust of Mr. Peabody. He is rather too modest in trying to sell. A person has to work hard in these days of competition to sell anything, and sculpture can't be excepted.

Yours Respectfully,

E. Pratt & Brother

On the second day of April the Knight family arrived in Naples, after a four-day trip from Rome. Fanny, writing to a young cousin in Frederick, Maryland, said:

Mr. E. S. Bartholomew, the artist who executed our busts, accompanied us to Naples from Rome. For some weeks previous to our departure he had been seriously indisposed, and Pa invited him to take a seat in our carriage, thinking that the change of air and scene and freedom from business would be beneficial. He had been suffering from a severe inflammation of the throat, accompanied by excessive debility. On the road he became so very much exhaused that we feared he would not reach his place of destination, and as he was not in a condition to be left alone, we remained a week longer in Naples than we would have done, until some of his friends arrived from Rome, and in whose charge we left him. His throat had decidedly improved but his debility rather increased. The

Doctor who thought the air of Naples would be of service to him began to think that it was too exciting and that it would be advisible for him to return to Rome as soon as his strength would permit. Mr. B. is very much depressed and thinks he never will recover. Poor man! It is truly sad that he should be so afflicted just at the time when his prospects of fame and fortune were brightest. He received a great many large orders for monuments this winter, among them an order from Mr. Howard of Baltimore to execute a monument to be placed over his wife and children in Greenmount Cemetery, but his present condition has prevented him from executing them as yet. His 'Paradise Lost,' (a most beautiful statue representing Eve after the Fall) is to be sent away this spring, and should any of you visit Philadelphia, be sure to see it as it is one of the most remarkable works of art in Rome. I suppose his statue of Washington to be placed in the niche of the "Washington Building" on Market St. [now Baltimore St.] has reached Baltimore ere this.

In her diary Fanny, at Prague, noted on June 9th: "Today we were told by a courier that Mr. Bartholomew is dead!" When Enoch Pratt learned of the sculptor's death he wrote the following letter to my great-grandfather:

Per Steamer "Africa" N. Y. to Liverpool

Baltimore June 7, 1858

John Knight, Esq.
C/o Geo. Peabody Co. London

Dear Sir:

The Mail brought us a letter announcing the death of our friend Bartholomew which, as you may well suppose, was a great shock, as we had not heard of his illness. We don't know what to do with his affairs. He has plenty of property in his studio, and if any honest man will undertake to wind it up, there will be something left for his mother, after paying me what he owes me. We are sorry you are not in Rome so we could have your advice. His statue of "Eve" is sold to Mr. Harrison of Philadelphia for $5000 and that will pay all he owes in Rome. We now think it will be best to have all his other works packed up and sent to New York where his friends could see they were properly sold.

Respectfully Yours,

E. Pratt & Brother

Fanny had proceeded from Prague to St. Petersburg by July 27, but the death of Bartholomew was still on her mind. She wrote in her diary on that day:

The news of Mr. Bartholomew's death must have been a great blow to Mr. Pratt (a great benefactor of Mr. B.'s), as well as to his poor widowed mother, for neither of them had heard of his illness when the intelligence

was received that he was no more. It is exceedingly sad after such years of sorrow and disappointed hope, as many a poor young artist experiences, Mr. B. should be called away just at the time when fortune seemed to smile on him. Alas! he had taken his last look of the "Eternal City" and left it never to return!

On March 24, 1859, Pratt again wrote to John Knight about Bartholomew.

Mr. Bartholomew's statue of "Eve" has arrived in Philadelphia and is being exhibited by Mr. Harrison for the benefit of Mr. Bartholomew's mother. It is universally admired and attracts great attention, as does the "Washington" in this city. The only regret is Mr. Bartholomew did not live to enjoy his fame.

The "Washington" referred to in the correspondence is the imposing white marble statue standing near the Madison Avenue entrance of Druid Hill Park in Baltimore. Before it came to stand on its present high granite base, the representation of our first President graced the front of the old "Washington Buildings" which housed the clothing firm of Noah Walker & Co.[3] This emporium, situated at what was then 165 and 167 West Baltimore Street, was Baltimore's largest and best-known dry goods and clothing store from the 1850's to the 1870's. Noah Walker, the owner, ordered and bought the statue for $6,000 from Bartholomew. The statue was prominently displayed in a third floor niche, and at night was handsomely illuminated by a circle of gaslighted stars. When the building was sold in the 90's, the family of Noah Walker gave the statue to the city of Baltimore and Enoch Pratt provided the pedestal on which it now stands in Druid Hill Park. This was another generous gesture on the part of Pratt as patron of the sculptor.

[3] See James C. Bertram's article, "The Man Behind the Statue," in the Baltimore *Sunday Sun* Magazine, Oct. 7, 1956.

FRANCO-AMERICAN TOBACCO DIPLOMACY, 1784-1860

By Bingham Duncan

FRANCO-AMERICAN diplomatic relations between the Revolution and the Civil War are usually told as a number of largely unrelated events that occurred at varied intervals. Citizen Genet's indiscretions, the XYZ affair, the Louisiana Purchase, Napoleon's interference with commerce, the negotiation of the Treaty of 1822, and Jackson's handling of the spoliations claims, are the events commonly treated. To these should be added the long, tedious, never finished effort of the United States diplomats to break France's state tobacco monopoly and thereby further open France to exports of this southern staple crop. The efforts to increase tobacco sales in France were, at first, part of an attempt to end American commercial dependence on Great Britain. Later efforts coincided with low prices in the mid-thirties and the late 'fifties. Throughout the period Americans felt that monopolies in general were evil, and that the French tobacco monopoly was especially so, in that it was harmful to an important American export commodity. In the seventy-five years from 1785 to 1860, of the score of ministers and chargés d'affaires who represented the United States in France, ten were concerned in some way with attempts to weaken or eliminate the tobacco monopoly. Five of the secretaries of state who served during the same years noted the harmful influences on American trade exerted by the monopoly. In the later decades of the period Congress became concerned about the effect of monopolies on tobacco exports to France and other countries.

Efforts to increase French imports of American leaf began soon after Great Britain's formal recognition of the independence of the United States. In the decade following the American Revolution a fourth of all American tobacco sold abroad went to

France. The proportion had dropped to some seven per cent by the end of the Napoleonic Wars but rose thereafter, and at the middle of the nineteenth century the proportion was about fifteen per cent.[1] These low percentages aggravated Americans who knew that Frenchmen consumed five times as much tobacco as they purchased from the United States. In May, 1784, the youthful James Monroe, in a newsy letter to Thomas Jefferson who had recently departed for France, said,

> It is certainly necessary something sho'd be done respecting the restraint on tob°. in France, to extricate it from the monopoly of the Farmers gen[l]. contrary in my opinion to the spirit of the treaty, but I am not sufficiently inform'd on this subject to take it up & wish y'[r]. advice.[2]

Jefferson was fully aware of the problem and was already working to remove obstacles that prevented the development of a free market. Increased sales of American tobacco to France would at once improve the economic position of the tobacco regions and decrease American commercial dependence on Great Britain. Old habits and connections and better credit facilities made it easier for Americans to trade in England than in France,[3] but these factors were of secondary importance. The essential block to increased trade with France was the institution of the Farmers-General, which controlled all movement of tobacco into and within France.

The French tobacco monopoly had been, with minor interruptions, an almost uniquely stable source of revenue for the state for more than a century. From the time of Richelieu traffic in tobacco had been heavily taxed, and in 1674 the control of tobacco imports was taken over by the state. During the next quarter of a century the operation of the monopoly was turned over to private interests under arrangements which brought upwards of a quarter of a million livres annually into the state treasury. After going through various changes the monopoly was, in 1721, leased to the Farmers-General. The Farmers retained control of the growth, manufacture, and sale of tobacco in France until the Revolution

[1] Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1933), II, 760, 1035-36.

[2] Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe* (New York, 1898-1903), I, 29-31.

[3] Frederick L. Nussbaum, "American Tobacco and French Politics, 1783-1789," *Political Science Quarterly,* XL (1925), 498.

destroyed the system. By the time of Jefferson's mission the Farmers were intrenched as a powerful bureaucracy with a complete juridical organization, and were paying more than thirty million livres a year to the state.[4] It was this organization that stood in the way of an expanded import of American tobacco into France.

Within a few weeks of Jefferson's appointment as Minister the Farmers-General further restricted the freedom of the trade by agreeing to secure American tobacco through a single agent, Robert Morris.[5] Under a contract that was signed early in 1785 Morris was to act as an agent and was to supply to the Farmers-General 20,000 hogsheads of tobacco in each of the three years from 1785 through 1787. The financial arrangements had the effect of holding the price of tobacco down in the United States, but it was the rigid control and the elimination of competition that Americans attacked first.

Jefferson sought to stir up opposition to the French system wherever he could. His correspondence in 1785 and 1786 includes numerous letters condemning the practices of the Farmers-General and arguing that American tobacco exports to France would be increased many times if the monopoly were eliminated. These or similar sentiments were addressed to the governors of Virginia and of Maryland, to James Monroe, John Adams, John Jay, the Count de Vergennes, and others.[6] Jefferson followed up his written complaints with positive action. He managed to enlist the cooperation of Lafayette, of Vergennes and Rayneval, and of several interested merchants. The Frenchmen were motivated by a desire to increase Franco-American commerce and were influenced by a dislike for the ultra-conservative and all powerful Farmers-General. As a result of Jefferson's representations Lafayette propose the establishment of a group to make a general examination of the commercial relations between France and the United States. Vergennes supported the proposal and early in 1786 the so-called American Committee was formed under the Controller- General, Calonne.[7] Using arguments supplied by Jefferson,

[4] Prosper Gayvallet, *Le Monopole du Tabac en France* (Tonneins, France, 1905), pp. 379-395.

[5] Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

[6] *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Monticello Edition. (Washington, D. C., 1904), V, 7-8, 34-35, 68-76, 252-55, 301-302, 320-21, 324, 325-33, 344-45, 354-57, 450-54.

[7] Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 504-505.

Lafayette attacked the tobacco monopoly in the committee. On this point he received sympathy and some agreement but little support. The effort not only failed to weaken the monopoly, but the Farmers were able to have their contract with the state renewed while the committee was sitting.[8]

The terms of the contract between the Farmers-General and Robert Morris, however, were more pliable and opponents of the monopoly gained some ground in their efforts at this point. The American Committee felt that the contract was harmful to the trade and so to the economic groups in France and America who grew, bought, sold, and shipped tobacco. On the basis of this thinking the Committee recommended cancellation of the contract.[9] The Farmers successfully resisted outright cancellation but the Committee had sufficient strength to force a compromise. In a meeting at Bernis, the château of Controller-General Calonne, the committee worked out a limitation. The Morris contract was to stand but similar bargains were prohibited for the future. Further, the monopoly of purchase in the original contract was weakened by a provision that in addition to the tobacco supplied by Morris some twelve to fifteen thousand hogsheads could be purchased annually by the Farmers on the open market to build up a reserve.[10] Calonne and Vergennes were agreed and the conclusion of the committee was given the character of a decision of the Council.[11]

In practice the compromise meant little. The Farmers controlled all the machinery for making purchases and for bringing in imports and could not be forced, without drastic measures, to buy tobacco that they did not want. The Morris contract ended in December, 1787, and the Bernis decision prevented any renewal or further similar agreement. Jefferson continued his opposition to the Farm *per se* but was only able to get a commitment that the Bernis decision would be continued until the Farm's contract expired five years later.[12]

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507. Nussbaum feels that the Farm was in some danger of being limited by the government at this time. This is doubtful. The Farm was not at the height of its power in 1786, but it was far too powerful to be affected seriously by mere argument.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 509; Beatrix C. Davenport, ed., *A Diary of the French Revolution by Gouverneur Morris* (Boston, 1939), I, 159, note.

[11] Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 511, 514-15. Nussbaum concludes that the constricting hold of the Farmers-General on the tobacco trade severely limited the ability of Americans to pay for French goods. This, he thinks, was a deciding factor in preventing the

When Jefferson left France in 1789 to enter upon his duties as Secretary of State the Farmers-General were still firmly established within the structure of the economic system, and it seemed that nothing short of the break-up of the old regime could destroy the institution.

That part of the old regime represented by the tobacco monopoly was destroyed in a decree of February 14, 1791, over the protests of Dupont de Nemours, Mirabeau, Necker, l'abbé Maury, and others.[13] The decree was adopted after many weeks of consideration. Arguments were advanced in committees and in open debate on all aspects of the tobacco trade, on the philosophical implications of monopolies, on the alleged harm done the soil of France by growing tobacco, and on the connection between tobacco and liberty.[14] American interest in the elimination of the monopoly had no influence on the adoption of the decree, although l'abbé D'Abbecour felt that the American trade was a factor to be considered as new regulations were developed.[15]

While the debates were in progress and as the end of the monopoly approached, William Short represented the United States in France. He had been Jefferson's secretary, his French was excellent (an advantage not possessed by all later American Ministers), and he was familiar with the tobacco discussions. He predicted that the Assembly would permit French farmers to grow tobacco, and he hoped that foreign varieties might be allowed to enter France at a low duty. So far as his opportunities permitted, Short continued Jefferson's efforts to promote the interests of American planters and merchants interested in the trade.[16] Short could not be made minister and Gouverneur Morris was appointed to the post early in 1792. Morris cared little for the planters or for an expanded trade. He had gone to France in 1788, and " a large part of Gouverneur's foreign errand was to repair damage done to Robert Morris through Jefferson's agency

development of a Franco-American commercial relationship that might have replaced the old Anglo-American trade arrangements. This idea was held by Jefferson and was at least partially accepted by many, if not most, Americans who attempted to expand the trade in the nineteenth century.

[13] Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-403.

[14] *Gazette National ou Le Moniteur Universel,* III, 1315-1316 (Nov. 14, 1790), 1317-1318 (Nov. 15, 1790), 1326 (Nov. 17, 1790); IV, 126-127 (Jan. 31, 1791).

[15] *Ibid.,* III, 1315-1316 (Nov. 14, 1790).

[16] Myrna Boyce, " The Diplomatic Career of William Short," *Journal of Modern History,* XV (1943), 97-119; Davenport, *op. cit.,* II, 130-31.

in the tobacco decisions at Bernis." [17] Long before he became minister Morris discussed tobacco contracts with various French financiers, many of whom were creditors of Robert Morris or of the United States, or both.[18] These discussions were held in 1788 and 1789 and came to nothing, since the Farmers-General were destroyed before the Bernis agreement ran out. As did Short, Morris watched proceedings in the Assembly closely. He hoped for a low duty, and predicted that the French would abolish restrictions on the culture of tobacco in France, would lose revenues thereby, and would then prohibit the culture of tobacco in France and establish an income through import duties.[19] He was partly correct, for the *decret-loi* of February 14, 1791, established freedom of culture, manufacture, and sale of tobacco throughout France. At the same time leaf imports were taxed and imports of most forms of manufactured tobacco were prohibited. In the ensuing years the revenue from tobacco fell off sharply,[20] but the system of free culture was retained.

During the next two decades the duties on leaf were gradually raised and some discrimination established in favor of French vessels.[21] By 1810 tobacco taxes were bringing some fourteen millions of francs into the French treasury annually, less than half the tobacco revenue paid by the Farmers-General. Budgetary necessity forced a re-examination of fiscal policy. A *decret-loi* of December 29, 1810, provided for the restoration of the monopoly and formed the fundamental basis for the tobacco administrative office, the *régie,* of the nineteenth century.[22]

For a generation after Jefferson's failure to weaken the French tobacco monopoly, that issue remained dormant, while the State Department gave primary attention to the larger problems of political relationships. It was not until after the spoliations claims treaty was signed that the tobacco trade was again given emphasis by the Americans.

None who represented the United States in France during the

[17] Davenport, *op. cit.,* I, xvi-xvii.
[18] *Ibid.,* I, 4, 26, 55.
[19] *Ibid.,* II, 132-34.
[20] Gayvallet, *op. cit.,* p. 403.
[21] Gray, *op. cit.,* II, 763; *Le Moniteur,* IV, 252 (Mar. 3, 1791); Gayvallet, *op. cit.,* pp. 402-405. During the continental blockade the taxes reached 440 (in foreign vessels) and 396 (in French vessels) francs, but these imports were prohibitive rather than fiscal measures. *Ibid.,* p. 404.
[22] Gayvallet, *op. cit.,* pp. 403, 405-406.

two decades to 1810 was concerned with the trade.[23] Nor did Americans take note of the French moves to re-establish the monopoly. John Armstrong, who headed the legation from 1804 to 1810, " was a pleasant mannered, somewhat ineffectual gentleman " who was unable to cope with the problems that faced him in Paris.[24] So far as his reports show he had no interest in tobacco.[25] Armstrong departed in September, 1810, leaving the much abler Jonathan Russell as chargé d'affaires. Russell took no notice of the discussions in the French chambers that led to the re-establishment of the monopoly. Indeed, the only indication that any American official was aware of the debate was contained in an exchange of notes between Secretary of State Robert Smith and General Turreau, the French Minister in Washington, in December of 1810. Smith asked several questions about commerce and Turreau included in his reply a sentence suggesting that France might soon modify the prohibition against American cotton and tobacco.[26] Probably those who were aware of the role of the *régie* in Franco-American trade felt as did Albert Gallatin. When Gallatin went to Paris as minister in July, 1816, his chief concern was as to whether the condition of French finances would stand the payment of any spoliations indemnity in view of the reparations recently imposed on France by the European powers.[27] Writing to James Monroe from Paris in July, 1817, Gallatin assumed that there was no possibility of altering the *régie*: " The system of raising a large revenue on the consumption of tobacco, by a monopoly of its manufacture and a partial cultivation of the plant in France, opposes an insuperable barrier to any beneficial

[23] Gouverneur Morris, James Monroe, C. C. Pinckney, Robert Livingston, John Armstrong, and Jonathan Russell, headed the legation in France from 1792 through 1810. They showed no interest in tobacco. During the two decades the Department of State did not instruct any of these men to consider the tobacco trade as such. The continental system affected tobacco only as cargo, in the same way that any other cargo was affected.

[24] Beckles Willson, *America's Ambassadors to France, 1777-1927* (London, 1928), p. 93. Armstrong's tenure is briefly described in pp. 93-101.

[25] Gouverneur Morris' correspondence through 1794 is printed in part in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (Washington, 1833), I, 329-412. Hereafter cited *A. S. P., F. R.*

[26] General Turreau to Robert Smith, Dec. 12, 1810, *A. S. P., F. R.*, III, 401. There was no prohibition as such. The tonnage tax of 400 francs the hundred kilograms, however, was prohibitive. See John Armstrong to Smith, Dec. 27, 1810, *ibid.*, III, 403, for a list of duties.

[27] Richard A. McLemore, *Franco-American Diplomatic Relations, 1816-1836* (University, Louisiana, 1941), p. 4.

change in the existing regulations respecting the tobacco of the United States." [28]

That the barrier was insuperable was to be disputed many times by Gallatin's successors. There was no doubt, however, of the value of the monopoly to the French treasury. Receipts averaged more than thirty million francs a year from 1812 to 1816,[29] the greatest income from this source since the destruction of the Farmers-General. In the years following the re-establishment of the monopoly the French chambers continued to discuss and to strengthen the controls by which tobacco was made to yield greater revenues.[30] Americans made no efforts to oppose these new controls, although Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Baron Hyde de Neuville touched on the subject in 1821 when they discussed the commercial convention that was signed the following year. Adams summarized de Neuville's attitude, " As to giving up the *régie* for the sale of tobacco, that was out of the question; it was part of an extensive system important to the revenue." [31] However, when French diplomats asked for lower duties on their wines and for increased rates on China silks, Adams reminded them that Americans disliked the *régie* and the requested changes were not made.[32]

[28] Gallatin to Monroe, No. 36, Paris, July 11, 1817, Henry Adams, ed., *The Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), II, 38-40. Gallatin rarely mentioned tobacco. When he did it was usually as a factor in the general Franco-American trade. He was more concerned with shipping as an industry than with trade in any particular product. See Gallatin to J. Q. Adams, No. 124, Paris, 25 Oct. 1819, *ibid.*, II, 122-25; No. 143, Paris, 27 Apr. 1820, II, 140; No. 151, Paris, July 5, 1820, II, 148-50; and *A. S. P., F. R.*, V, 32-33.

[29] Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 763; *Journal des Économistes,* XXXI, 351, cited in Willis H. Walker, *Franco-American Commercial Relations*: 1820-1850 (Hayes, Kansas, 1928), p. 89. Re-establishment of the tobacco monopoly was accompanied by the resurrection of other elements of the system of indirect taxation which the Revolution had abolished. ". . . the indirect taxes, *les droits reunis,* on the use of tobacco, salt, and liquors furnished, along with the customs duties, forty per cent of the state's income in 1813," Leo Gershoy, *The French Revolution and Napoleon* (New York, 1934), pp. 459-60.

[30] See Jerome Mavidal and E. Laurent, et al, (directors), *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860.* 2e Sér. (Paris, 1862-1913), XII, 616-26, 755-57, for discussions of the monopoly and of proposals to strengthen the system. Gayvallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-415, mentions the principal laws passed.

[31] Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848* (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), V, 350. The convention was beneficial to American shippers in that tonnage duties were more favorable than previously to vessels of the United States. The tobacco trade was hardly affected, even indirectly, by the treaty, since tonnage duties on cargoes of tobacco at this time were a minor item in the price of the staple. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

[32] Gallatin to J. Q. Adams, June 23, 1821, and Sept. 26, 1821, *Writings of Gallatin,* II, 183-86, 199-203.

The signing of the Convention of 1822 left the spoliations claims as the principal issue between America and France. This matter and other old problems, including fishing rights, and French privileges in certain Louisiana ports, were called to the attention of James Brown, who succeeded Gallatin as minister in 1823 and remained in France until 1829. Brown's instructions did not include any mention of tobacco,[33] despite the fact that Americans sent an average of less than 6,000 hogsheads a year to France during the 1820's, of a total annual average export of more than 82,000 hogsheads.[34]

The claims question remained uppermost into the administration of Andrew Jackson, but throughout the 'thirties the tobacco trade came increasingly to the fore as a matter of diplomatic concern until not only France's restrictions but those of all Europe received close American attention.

Secretary of State Martin Van Buren wrote three letters of instruction to Jackson's first Minister to France, William C. Rives, on July 20, 1829. These comprised some forty-odd pages of advice in which but three sentences concerned tobacco. Van Buren said that France was buying less American tobacco each year and implied that the falling off was due to policies pursued by the *régie*.[35] The minister, as instructed, devoted most of his first year in France to the spoliations claims. In the first six months after his arrival in Paris he had at least six meetings with Prince Polignac, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. The claims were uppermost in Rives' mind during these conferences and other topics were discussed only in general terms. If tobacco was mentioned at all Rives did not report it to Van Buren.[36] Indeed, Rives was so engrossed with the various aspects of the spoliations claims that a move to restrict even more the purchase of foreign leaf for France almost escaped his notice. In the early summer of 1830 French financiers proposed that all tobacco for the *régie* be purchased by one contractor rather than by several. This change threatened to establish a monopoly even tighter than the old

[33] See United States Ministers, Instructions, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D. C., 10, 11, 12, which include the instructions to James Brown from Nov. 18, 1823, through June 23, 1829.

[34] Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 760, 1035.

[35] Van Buren to Rives, July 20, 1821, Nos. 1, 2, 3, Instructions, France, 14.

[36] See Rives' despatches to Van Buren from Sept. 1829 through Feb. 1830; especially No. 5 of Nov. 7, 1829, No. 8 of Dec. 17, 1829, and No. 11, of Jan. 16, 1830, Despatches, France, 24.

Morris arrangement had been, since the 1830 proposal would have one contractor purchase from all countries. A single purchaser would, of course, be able to select his own markets and within limits set his own prices. No single seller or nation of sellers could do other than accept the terms offered by a such a buyer. By the time Rives heard of the scheme, in mid-July, it was virtually French law, needing only the approval of the Minister of Finance, the Baron Montbel. Upon learning of the plan to establish the "monopoly upon a monopoly" Rives called on Montbel to protest, and, at the Finance Minister's suggestion put the protest on paper. Within a few days the events of the July Revolution brought about changes in the government and Rives hopefully sent copies of his argument to Comte Molé and to Baron Louis, the new Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Finance.[37] Despite other changes brought about by the July Revolution, the tobacco monopoly remained unaffected. Comte Molé acknowledged Rives' communication immediately, saying only that the American position was being considered. Two weeks later Baron Louis told the American minister that after mature examination the one-lot plan, the, "monopoly upon a monopoly," had been approved.[38]

It is plain from the correspondence that Rives had given little if any thought to the problems of the tobacco trade, and that he did not understand the operation or the significance of the *régie.* His arguments were similar to some made by Jefferson forty years earlier. Both contended that the monopoly arbitrarily and unnecessarily limited the quantity of American tobacco imported by France. Rives, however, let it go at that. In the summer of 1830 he had some talks with Lafayette about French politics and thus had a unique opportunity to discuss the history of the place of tobacco in Franco-American trade. Rives probably did not know of Lafayette's role in the discussions of 1785 and 1786, and there is no evidence that the men talked about tobacco.[39] The

[37] Rives to Montbel, July 20, 1830, enclosed in Van Buren to Rives, Aug. 18, 1830; the notes to Molé and to Louis are dated Aug. 18 and are enclosed in Rives to Van Buren, Sept. 8, 1830, Despatches, France, 24.

[38] Rives to Van Buren, Sept. 8, 1830, with enclosures, Despatches, France, 24. France imported an average of more than 7,000 hogsheads of American tobacco a year in the five years preceding the establishment of the one-lot plan; less than 5,000 hogsheads were imported annually from 1831 through 1833. Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 138.

[39] In 1830 the tobacco *régie* was contributing about 6% of the revenues received

American Minister went forward with his principal assignment and completed negotiation of the treaty that obligated France to pay the United States twenty-five million francs in settlement of the spoliations claims. The treaty included provisions lowering American duties on French wines and lowering French duties on long staple cotton from the United States,[40] but there was no reference to tobacco, and no provision in the treaty applied directly to that staple.

The omission of tobacco from the treaty was partly offset by the instructions of Rives' successor. In May, 1833, in a move partly intended to strengthen the administration's foreign policy, Edward Livingston, who had succeeded Van Buren as Secretary of State, was shifted from that department to the legation in France and Louis McLane became Secretary of State. McLane signed the letters of instruction to Livingston in June, and in a section on commercial relations the new secretary singled out the tobacco trade for special comment. He noted that there had been a serious drop in tobacco exports to France, and instructed Livingston to make every effort to improve the situation.[41] The secretary pointed out that by an act of Congress of March 2, all French manufactures having silk as a component part would be admitted to the United States duty free after the end of 1833. In addition, after 1833, duties on all other French products were to be gradually lowered to a uniform twenty per cent level. Livingston was authorized to suggest that these benefits, some of which discriminated against other countries in favor of France, should result in French favors, including a modification of the effect of the *régie* on American

by the French government. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90. The tobacco factories employed some 16,000 laborers in ten factories and twenty *entrepots*. The flow of tobacco through these factories and through 350 wholesale and 30,000 retail outlets was supervised by some 13,000 officials. The capitalization of the *régie* at this time has been estimated at 200 millions of francs and its annual profits at nearly 450%, *ibid.*, 89-90. Such an organization could only be influenced by forces much greater than any at Rives' disposal.

[40] The treaty is printed in David Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America, 1776-1863* (Washington, D. C., 1931-48), III, 77-90. For brief comment see Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), p. 456, and William B. Hatcher, *Edward Livingston, Jeffersonian Republican and Jacksonian Democrat* (University, Louisiana, 1940), p. 414.

[41] McLane to Livingston, June 3, 1833, Instructions, France, 14. Rives remained in France until Sept., 1831, and when he departed left Nathaniel Niles in charge o fthe mission. Jackson delayed the appointment of a new minister until the spring of 1833 for domestic political reasons. Hatcher, *ibid.*, p. 415; Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 179; McLemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

tobacco.[42] Livingston was instructed to present this idea to the French government and to obtain a commitment if possible. If the French were not amenable to the suggestions, Livingston was to inform the Secretary of State and the President in time for retaliatory action to be taken before the act of March 2 went into effect.[43] This authorization constituted a far stronger weapon for negotiation than had been available to any of Livington's predecessors. Had he been interested in the trade or had he known of the effects of the *régie's* practices on American exports he might have accomplished much. As it was he let the chance slip by. In October and November, when he discussed the trade with French officials, he only learned that the *régie* contract still had three years to run and that there was some opposition to its renewal. Livingston simply reported these facts to McLane and made no attempt to go further into the question.[44] As Rives had been, Livingston was mainly concerned with the spoliations claims.[45] Other things that occupied him were the possibilities of commercial arrangements with some of the Italian states, inadequate funds for the conduct of legation affairs, and Paris social life.[46]

These distractions occupied his attention through 1834. Even when the Chamber of Deputies, beginning December 1, debated at length the extension of the *régie,* Livingston apparently took no notice of the proceedings.[47] In the Chamber, led by M. Humann, Minister of Finance, supporters of the *régie* proposed to continue the monopoly for twelve years beyond the expiration date of 1835. Opposition to the move was weak and irresolute.[48] At the end of December, 1834, a commission that had been appointed to consider tobacco legislation made its report, recommending the extension of the monopoly to 1842, seven years instead of the usual five but not the twelve year continuation proposed by the Finance Minister.[49] Some changes in the manner in which the *régie* operated on French tobacco growers were recommended. Debate on the new laws began on January 5, 1835, in the Chamber

[42] McLane to Livingston, June 3, 1833, Instructions, France, 14.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Livingston to McLane, Dec. 2, 1833, Despatches, France, 27.
[45] Hatcher, *op. cit.,* p. 427.
[46] Livingston to McLane, July 6, 1834, and Livingston to Forsyth, July 26, 1834, Despatches, France, 27.
[47] Willson, *op. cit.,* p. 189. *Archives Parlementaires,* 2e sér. XCI, 118-20.
[48] *Le Moniteur,* Aug.-Dec., 1834, pp. 2145-46 (Dec. 2, 1834).
[49] *Ibid.,* p. 2323 (Dec. 30, 1834); *Archives Parlementaires,* 2e sér. XCI, 400-404.

of Deputies and continued for four days. Some attempts were made to limit the life of the monopoly to one or two years or otherwise to weaken its hold on the industry, but without avail. One change favored American farmers and exporters. The old law had provided that when foreign and domestic tobaccos were mixed, in the manufacturing process, a minimum of four-fifths of the mixture must be leaf grown in France. Under the new law, a maximum of four-fifths of the mixture could be of French origin.[50] French practice as of the early 1830's was to use about five-sixths native to one-sixth foreign tobacco. Since the bulk of foreign leaf used at this time was from the United States the change made for an immediate, if slight, increase in the use of American tobacco. The new law passed the Deputies 237 to 72 on January 8, 1835, and was sent to the Peers.[51] After referring the proposals to a committee, and later debating the committee report, the Chamber of Peers passed the measure 86 to 10 on February 9, 1835.[52] The debates, the work of the Commission, and the passage of the law, all seem to have escaped Livingston's notice at the time.

The Minister's attention was held by new aspects of the claims problem. He knew in advance that Jackson's annual message, of December 1834, would include a statement on the claims but did not know how harsh a tone the President would take.[53] Reports of the famous message reached Livingston via newspapers that he received on January 7 and the President's statement was reported in the Paris press on January 8. The most critical period in Franco-American relations since the days of Napoleon I had begun, and for some time the American Minister's attention was fully absorbed by the reverberations of Jackson's speech. It was not until the end of January that Livingston found time to make a report on the new tobacco legislation. He said that he had opposed the *régie* on all proper occasions since his arrival in France and that his efforts had some possibility of bearing fruit. A parliamentary inquest was to be held, he said, and he thought it might produce a total abolition of the monopoly and also

[50] *Archives Parlementaires,* 2e sér. XCI, 625.
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 657.
[52] *Ibid.,* XCII, p. 388.
[53] Livingston to Forsyth, Nov. 22, 1834, in Hatcher, *op. cit.,* p. 433. Willson, *op. cit.,* p. 189.

might result in prohibiting the cultivation of tobacco in France.[54] The United States might make important gains, Livingston thought, in such a development as the elimination of the monopoly. To take full advantage of the situation would require concessions from the United States, and he wrote, "I must be authorized to offer a continuance of the discriminating duty, as it now exists, on China silks, perhaps an extension of time on that established by the treaty of 1831 on wines." [55] Thus, having lost the opportunity offered him in 1833 to use the threat of retaliation, Livingston now asked permission to try to gain the same ends by using inducements that were certainly less compulsive than the threats he had been authorized to make a year and a half earlier. His suggestion was not considered. The report arrived in Washington on March 9, as John Forsyth, now heading the State Department, was ordering him to obtain an explanation of an offensive note on the claims that M. Serurier, the French Minister in Washington, had handed to the administration. Forsyth brushed the tobacco matter aside: "With regard to the suggestion in your note [of January 31], in relation to the tobacco trade, and commercial relations with France, the president directs me to say, that no arrangement of any kind is to be thought of with France until provision is made fully to execute the treaty of 1831." The Secretary of State sent his note by the *Constitution,* which was to wait at Havre and bring back a satisfactory answer, or bring back the American Minister.[56]

Unable to secure a satisfactory answer, Livingston left Paris late in April and returned to the United States in June on the *Constitution.* Thomas Barton, Livingston's son-in-law and Secretary of the Legation, remained as chargé d'ffaires until November when he too departed, leaving the United States without diplomatic representation in France.[57]

Forsyth's note instructing Livingston to drop the effort to gain concessions for American tobacco ended the first serious thought of challenging the monopoly since Jefferson's mission. Although Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, William C. Rives, and possibly others, had been aware of the potency of the *régie* as a force in the trade, none had seriously considered the kind of

[54] Livingston to Forsyth, Jan. 31, 1835, Despatches, France, 27.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Forsyth to Livingston, Mar. 9, 1835, Instructions, France, 14.
[57] Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

effort made by Jefferson, contemplated by McLane in his instructions of June, 1833, and belatedly suggested by Livingston.

The cessation of effort, however, lasted no longer than the rupture of diplomatic relations. Within a few months of Barton's departure new schemes were afoot to promote tobacco sales. The new effort was not confined to the trade with France but was broadened to include that with England and nearly all of western Europe. The impetus for the increased and broadened effort came from political leaders and planters in tobacco states who made a series of moves designed to improve the position of their staple in international trade. The first measures were not coordinated, but interested groups eventually were able to set in motion a broad program of diplomatic support for the tobacco trade that had far reaching results. By 1840 the heads of virtually every American legation in Europe, and several special agents, had been ordered to become tobacco salesmen and promoters.

The first move in the new effort was made in the Senate in May, 1836, when Joseph Kent of Maryland offered a resolution asking the President to open negotiations with France in behalf of tobacco as soon as diplomatic intercourse was renewed. Kent's speech in support of his resolution showed that he was quite familiar with the general conditions of the trade in Europe, including the position of the *régie* in France. The resolution was passed but no action ensued during the remaining two months of the session.[58] In August a completely separate move was initiated by nineteen Maryland tobacco growers. These men, through the Washington *National Intelligencer,* invited " the Planters and Growers of Tobacco in Charles, St. Mary's, Calvert, Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Prince George's Counties " to a convention.[59] The purpose of the meeting, called for August 22, was to ask the Maryland legislature to deal with a number of local problems made acute by falling prices. There was no hint in the notice that restrictions on exports to France or elsewhere were thought to be a cause of the low prices. At least one reader who saw the notice felt called upon to comment on the problem. This individual, signing himself simply " C," published a letter in the

[58] *Register of Debates in Congress,* XII, part II (24 Cong., 1 sess., 1835-36), 1381-82. Kent's resolution was noted in the Richmond *Enquirer* of May 6, 1836, but did not create widespread interest at the time.

[59] See Washington, D. C., *National Intelligencer,* Aug. 18, 19, 20, 1836.

National Intelligencer of August 24, 1836, in which he argued that the difficulty lay in high foreign duties and not in local conditions. The National Government, "C" thought, should do something to alleviate the restricting effects of foreign tariffs. Specifically, he recommended that the President should have American ministers initiate negotiations looking to lower tobacco duties. He went on to contrast the favored position of French silk and brandy in American markets with the unfavorable situation of American tobacco abroad. Whether or not "C's" letter was effective the ideas expressed in it were frequently used in later discussions of the trade.

The Maryland planters assembled in August and prepared resolutions condemning England and Europe, from France to Russia and Turkey, for their laws taxing and restricting tobacco imports. The planters urged their fellows in Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, to meet with them in Washington on the first Monday in January to petition Congress for help in opposing the foreign restrictions. At a later meeting in Upper Marlboro, Maryland, shortly before Christmas, the tobacco men reiterated the August proposals.[60] Some planters met in Washington on January 2 and 3, 1837, but attendance was disappointing and a later gathering was arranged for the end of the month.[61] Between the two meetings the Maryland legislature acted to build interest in the second one and to add weight to the expected actions of the convention. To these ends two members of the Maryland House of Delegates presented to that body memorials from their constituencies. The memorials asked Maryland's governor to seek the cooperation of other state governors in an effort to obtain through Congress a reduction of the duties imposed on tobacco by foreign nations. The memorials also instructed Maryland's representatives in the United States Senate and House of Representatives to press for national legislative attention to other needs of tobacco growers including a fair and equal participation in benefits to be derived from any tariff adjustment that might be made at the coming session of Congress.[62] Maryland's House of Delegates adopted

[60] *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 26, 29, 1836.
[61] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 5, 1837. Richmond *Enquirer*, Jan. 26, 1837.
[62] House Executive Document 24, *Congressional Documents*, no. 383 (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II). Sister Mary Anthonita Hess, *American Tobacco and Central European Policy: Early Nineteenth Century* (Washington, 1948), pp. 96-98. Dr. Hess treats the Maryland legislative acts without mention of activity in 1836. The

the resolution on January 19, 1837, and Governor Thomas W. Veazey informed the President, Maryland's representatives and senators, and the governors of other tobacco states, of the action.[63]

The planters again met in Washington on January 30. James Barbour, a former governor of Virginia, presided and Daniel Jenifer, a member of Congress from Maryland, set the general tone of the meeting.[64] With little preliminary speechmaking the convention prepared a memorial and addressed it to the federal government. This Jenifer took directly to the floor of the House. On February 2 the House referred the memorial, and the resolutions sent earlier by the Maryland General Assembly, to a Select Committee, of which Jenifer was made chairman. The Committee included two representatives each from Maryland and Virginia and one each from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee and Missouri.[65] At the same time Joseph Kent presented a similar resolution in the Senate. Kent's resolution was referred to the Committee on Commerce, which had no important tobacco state membership, and there it died.[66] Jenifer, however, made the most of his opportunity. He had the good fortune to find in Washington the American Consul for Bremen, Joshua Dodge, who was probably better informed than any other American on the general subject of tobacco imports into Europe.[67] In a matter of days he produced for Jenifer a full report, complete with statistics and historical summaries, on the export of American leaf to foreign countries.[68] Writing from personal experience Dodge reviewed the condition of the trade in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Spain. His observations on the trade with France included the remark that

Maryland legislature, it should be noted, was partly concerned with local conditions, partly with the American tariff, and partly with foreign duties on tobacco. See Joseph C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom—Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860* (Durham, N. C., 1938), p. 123.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

[65] *Congressional Globe*, 24 Cong., 2 sess. (1836-37), IV, 149.

[66] *Ibid.*, 17, 21, 147.

[67] Dodge's presence was a most fortunate coincidence for Jenifer, as the report added much weight to Jenifer's proposals. Dodge had requested leave in 1836 in order to visit the United States, but did not arrive until November or early December. His knowledge of the tobacco trade was based on his observations while serving as consul in Bremen. See [Consular] Despatches, Bremen, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D. C., vol. 3; Dodge to Forsyth, Mar. 29, 1836, July 7, 1836, and Aug. 6, 1836, deal with Dodge's leave of absence.

[68] Dodge's report is printed in Reports of Committees, no. 239, *House of Representatives*, no. 306, 24 Cong., 2 sess.

he believed the *régie* to be the principal deterrent to an increase in American exports to that country.[69] Jenifer's committee combined the Maryland legislature's resolutions, the Washington convention's memorial, and Dodge's paper. To these the committee added its own resolution asking the President to instruct American envoys in France, England, Russia, Prussia, Holland, and Germany, to negotiate for better trade conditions for tobacco. The President was also asked to appoint special agents to countries where the United States had no envoys. The resolution, with attachments, was reported to the House with the intention, on the part of the Select Committee, that it become a Joint Resolution.[70] The House adopted the resolution on February 28, 1837.[71] Interested groups continued to encourage the tobacco promotion movement. In May planters in Maryland met and resolved that the President be asked to take early action on the House resolution. A committee took this request to President Van Buren, who said that the government was already acting.[72] In September the widely read *Southern Agriculturist* published a letter from the tobacco firm of Riley and Van Amringe of Philadelphia indicating that the firm was wholly in accord with the planters' efforts.[73] This letter, written to Thomas Bowie, who had taken a leading part in the Maryland meeting, had been published earlier in the *Farmer and Gardener.*[74] The *Farmer's Register* also printed an account of the tobacco men's activities during January and February of 1837.[75]

The various moves in behalf of the tobacco trade that took place late in 1836 and in 1837 did not grow out of the Franco-American trade problem. They were inspired by local conditions, but were influenced from the beginning by a widespread belief that foreign restrictions were somehow to blame for a lack of prosperity in the tobacco areas. As a result of the tobacco men's efforts, Secretary Forsyth on June 1, 1837, informed American agents in Europe of the Washington convention, of the Maryland resolutions, and of the House action, and told them to proceed

[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Journal, *House of Representatives,* no. 300 (24 Cong., 2 sess., 1836-37), p. 456. Hess, *op. cit.,* pp. 99-100. The report did not become a Joint Resolution as the Senate did not pass it.
[71] *Cong. Globe,* 24 Cong., 2 sess. (1836-37), IV, 213.
[72] *Niles Register,* May 13, 27, LII (1837), 167-68, 195.
[73] *Southern Agriculturist and Register of Rural Affairs,* X (1837), 490.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Farmer's Register,* IV May 1836-Apr. 1837), 747-48.

accordingly. The instructions were sent to Henry Wheaton in Berlin, Auguste Davezac at The Hague, Nathaniel Niles in Vienna, Virgil Maxcy in Brussels, George Dallas in St. Petersburg, Andrew Stevenson in London, Christopher Hughes in Stockholm, and Jonathan Woodside in Copenhagen.[76] Instructions and information about the tobacco trade had already been sent to the Minister in France.

The United States was without a diplomatic representative in France for a year following Thomas Barton's departure from Paris in November, 1835. Relations were restored through the good offices of Great Britain in 1836. Lewis Cass, appointed in the fall, arrived in France in November and was received by Louis Philippe on December 1.[77] Cass was well occupied during his first winter in Paris with the problems of reopening the legation, finding lodgings for his family, attending to miscellaneous accumulated obligations, and with the necessity of reminding the French government that the interest due under the claims treaty was still unpaid. Tobacco became a matter of concern to him only after the Secretary of State brought the trade to his attention.[78] In May, 1837, Forsyth assembled and sent to Cass information about the principal moves that the emerging tobacco lobby had made since Livingston's departure from Paris in 1835. He sent Joseph Kent's Senate resolution of May 2, 1836, requesting that the tobacco trade be made an item of concern when diplomatic intercourse with France was renewed. He sent Daniel Jenifer's report on the trade, with the Select Committee's recommendation that it be adopted as a Joint Resolution. He informed Cass of the appropriation of money for the employment of special tobacco agents and for establishing new regular missions. The new missions, Forsyth thought, were authorized principally with the view of extending the tobacco trade. These actions, the Secretary believed, were the equivalent in intent of a Joint Resolution.[79] Forsyth also told the Minister something of the role of the *régie* in French commerce, and outlined earlier proposals for limiting its influence on American

[76] House Exec. Doc. 258, *Congressional Documents,* no. 328 (25 Cong., 2 sess., 1837-38, VIII); Hess, *op. cit.,* pp. 116, 142-65. Dr. Hess considers the work of the tobacco agents in Central Europe, primarily in the German States and Austria. For the effort in England see Bingham Duncan, "The Tobacco Trade in Anglo-American Diplomacy, 1830-1850," *Emory University Quarterly,* V (1949), 48-55.

[77] Willson, *op. cit.,* pp. 198-99.

[78] Forsyth to Cass, May 11, 1837, Instructions, France, 14.

[79] *Ibid.*

tobacco. Finally, Forsyth suggested that Cass sound out the Minister of Foreign Affairs. If he seemed cooperative, Cass was authorized to send an official note setting forth the injuries done to the United States by the *régie.*[80]

When Forsyth's instructions arrived in Paris, Cass was in the Mediterranean on a six months cruise.[81] Charles E. Anderson had been left in charge of the legation and he undertook to carry out the Secretary's instructions. Anderson's experience with the French Foreign Office was fairly typical of American work on the tobacco problem in France. While calling on Count Molé about another matter, the claims issue, Anderson brought up the subject of the tobacco *régie* and presented the by now usual American arguments. America, he said, had a liberal policy toward imports of French products; great harm was done to American tobacco producers by the restrictive features of the *régie;* a more liberal French policy would benefit both countries.[82] Molé, of course, was not only thoroughly familiar with the *régie* and its relation to French economy, which Anderson was not, but he had been Minister of Foreign Affairs seven years earlier and at that time had been over precisely the same ground with William C. Rives. It is quite likely that Molé knew of Livingston's efforts along similar lines, although he and Livingston had not discussed the matter officially. Molé offered no rebuttal to Anderson's argument but the chargé reported that "he did not give me any reason to think that any modification of the French system was possible." [83] Molé did seem willing to discuss the general bases of a new commercial treaty between France and the United States, but such negotiations were beyond Anderson's authority.[84] To the time of Cass' return to Paris late in 1837, Anderson found no disposition on France's part to alter the *régie* system.[85] When the minister returned he reviewed Anderson's handling of the

[80] *Ibid.* Forsyth was somewhat hopeful. He felt that the opposition to the *régie* that Livingston had found, and the parliamentary inquiry that he had mentioned, might give Cass the kind of opening that Livingston predicted he (Livingston) would have. But Livingston was wrong. The French government used an 1834 report as the basis of its work in 1837, instead of authorizing a new study. Anderson to Forsyth, Oct. 30, 1837, Despatches, France, 28.

[81] He probably received the letter while in Venice. See Anderson to Forsyth, June 15, 1837, *ibid.*

[82] Anderson to Forsyth, Aug. 5, 1837, *ibid.*

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] Anderson to Forsyth, Oct. 30, 1837, *ibid.*

general affairs of the legation and found everything satisfactory. In his study of the tobacco question, Cass soon gained as sound an understanding of the matter as had any American minister to France. He learned that the *régie* was inextricably interwoven with France's revenue system and closely intertwined in important agricultural interests. Mere argument, Cass decided, could hardly induce the French to change the *régie*. The only possibility for change, he told Forsyth, lay in a general Franco-American trade convention.[86] Cass did not waste time fighting for what he felt was a lost cause, but the subject was not out of his mind. When, in 1839, Marshall Soult (Duc de Dalmatie) replaced Molé as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cass broached the subject of tobacco to the new Foreign Minister. Unexpectedly the Marshall encouraged Cass and in July the latter initiated negotiations by setting forth his version of the American position. Cass argued that the trade was important to the people of both countries and that both were injured by the system. Tobacco, he said, was not adapted to the soil and climate of France, and Frenchmen paid high prices for poor tobacco. Further, he contended, *régie*-sponsored restrictions on tobacco imports hurt exports of French products by denying Americans the means of paying for more silks and wines. In short, Cass held that increased trade and prosperity for both countries, as well as better tobacco for Frenchmen at lower prices, would result from the abolition of the *régie*. He asked the Foreign Minister to designate a person from whom further information could be obtained for use in preparing an extended statement.[87] Soult gave Cass access to the data he wanted and referred the request for a general discussion of the *régie* to the Ministers of Finance and of Commerce. The French government waited two months to reply to Cass. The message, sent by Soult for the government, was polite, reasonable, friendly, and unalterably adamant. In the first place, he said, the tobacco taxes were not restrictions but were revenue measures, the most important in France except for those on salt. Since the purpose was revenue, the level of the tax was limited only by the fear of limiting consumption. He reminded Cass that American tobacco could enter French ports in American vessels and duty free. Further,

[86] Cass to Forsyth, Jan. 25, 1838, *ibid.*

[87] Cass to Dalmatie, July 20, 1839, enclosed in Cass to Forsyth, Oct. 28, 1839, Despatches, France, 29.

he pointed out, the law of 1835 permitting an increased proportion of foreign leaf to be mixed with domestic had increased French purchases of American tobacco. In short Soult held that Cass's arguments were not to the point, and suggested that his predictions as to the probable result of the abolition of the *régie* were improbable of fulfillment.[88] During the two months that Cass had waited for this message he had been working on a 10,000 word brief recommending the abolition of the *régie*. He sent it, despite having already been turned down.[89] At the same time Cass sent all the correspondence to Forsyth, telling the Secretary that it was useless to try to break the *régie's* hold on the tobacco system in France.[90] Two months later Cass watched with little interest or hope as the French chambers considered the extension of the monopoly, which under the law of 1835 was to expire in 1842. The new proposal was to extend the monopoly for ten years beyond 1842,[91] and the bill passed the chambers without serious objection.[92] Cass's only other move in connection with the trade was to send a copy of his lengthy brief to James Barbour for use at a proposed new tobacco convention to be held in Washington in May, 1840.[93]

The years immediately following the resumption of diplomatic relations with France in 1836, when Cass worked to limit the effect of the *régie,* were marked by intensive interest in tobacco exports by private groups, state and local governments, and the federal government. Interest was not directed solely to the trade with France, but the *régie* received much attention as an evil influence on the tobacco trade. The Washington Convention of May, 1840, that Cass had sought to aid through the brief he sent to James Barbour, met as scheduled; delegates repeated old complaints but offered no new solutions.[94] The following December another

[88] Dalmatie to Cass, Sept. 26, 1839, enclosed in Cass to Forsyth, Nov. 29, 1839, *ibid.*

[89] Cass to Dalmatie, Oct, 28, 1839, enclosed in Cass to Forsyth, Oct. 28, 1839, *ibid.*

[90] Cass to Forsyth, Oct. 28, 1839, *ibid.*

[91] *Le Moniteur,* Jan.-Apr., 1840, p. 749 (Apr. 20-21, 1840), p. 769 (Apr. 23, 1840).

[92] *Ibid.,* p. 271 (Feb. 9, 1840), pp. 420-22 (Mar. 5, 1840). Cass to Forsyth, Feb. 13, 1840, and Mar. 5, 1840, Despatches, France, 29.

[93] Cass to Forsyth, Apr. 9, 1840, Despatches, France, 29.

[94] Richmond *Enquirer,* May 12, 1840. House Exec. Doc. 24, *Congressional Documents,* no. 383 (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II). This meeting inspired at least one local memorial, that of a group of Kentucky planters who approved the

convention gathered in Washington.[95] Delegates considered argument to be futile and recommended retaliatory Federal legislation against European states that discriminated against American tobacco.[96] This sentiment was echoed in the Georgia Senate late in 1840, when Georgians discussed the feasibility of federal taxes on French wines, silks, and brandies, proportionate to the French penalty on tobacco.[97] Kentucky tobacco growers, of Daviess County, recommended a federal tax on the products of any European country to equal the taxes that country levied on any American product.[98]

Meantime, in the Federal government, wheels set in motion by the report of Jenifer's Select Committee, of February, 1837, continued to turn. In September, 1837, and again in March, 1838, the House of Representatives asked the Executive for reports on the tobacco trade, and published the replies.[99] In his annual message of December 3, 1838, Van Buren assured the nation that every proper exertion was being made to further the wishes of Congress regarding the tobacco trade, and mentioned retaliatory legislation as a possible prod.[100] Jenifer's committee used this comment as an excuse for another lengthy report, and induced the House to print 5,000 copies for distribution.[101] Again, in March, 1840, the House asked the President for further progress reports.[102] Van Buren replied in April, sending a voluminous study by Joshua Dodge [103] and some fifty other items beginning with Rives' correspondence. The whole was made available to the public as a printed docu-

action of the Washington meeting. Sen. Doc. 601, *Congressional Documents,* no. 361 (26 Cong., 1 sess., 1839-40, VIII).

[95] Baltimore *Sun,* Dec. 18, 1840.

[96] *Niles Register,* Dec. 26, 1840, LIX, 258-59. *Farmer's Register,* VIII (1840), 662-63, cited in Robert, *op. cit.,* p. 125. House Exec. Doc. 24, *Congressional Documents,* no. 383 (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II).

[97] *Niles Register,* Dec. 19, 1840, LIX, 241; *ibid.,* Dec. 26, 1840, p. 258. This would have been a pertinent approach, but the French did not penalize tobacco as an American product. They did not tax it until it became French.

[98] House Exec. Doc. 25, *Congressional Documents,* no. 383, (26 Cong., 2 sess., 1840-41, II).

[99] James D. Richardson (ed.), *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the President, 1787-1897* (Washington, 1897), III, 371, 431. Hereafter cited *Messages and Papers.*

[100] *Ibid.,* III, 496.

[101] Reports of Committees, no. 310, *House of Representatives,* no. 352, 25 Cong., 3 sess.

[102] *Messages and Papers,* III, 589.

[103] House Exec. Doc. 229, *Congressional Documents,* no. 368 (26 Cong., 1 sess., 1840), 155-210.

ment.[104] At the end of 1840 in his fourth annual message, Van Buren mentioned the European tobacco trade briefly.[105]

In the following administration, President Tyler commented on American efforts to increase tobacco shipments abroad in two of his annual messages, in two communications to the Senate, and in answer to a House request for information on the trade.[106] In reply to another House request, Secretary of State Webster, in 1842, prepared a special report on French tobacco laws.[107] At about the same time the Kentucky legislature recommended federal laws to restrict French and English imports as long as those countries held to laws that restricted American tobacco.[108]

The work of Livingston and Cass in France, with that of private and governmental agencies in the United States in the same years, constituted the most widespread and sustained effort made between 1790 and 1860 to open further the French market for American tobacco. In the years between Tyler's administration and that of Buchanan, as in the years from Jefferson's mission to Livingston's, the French monopoly received little attention but was not forgotten. The end of the period saw both Congress and the minister in France condemning the strangle hold of the *régie* on the trade.

William R. King, who succeeded Cass in April, 1844, received no special orders or information about tobacco. Secretary of State John C. Calhoun merely referred him to instructions sent to previous ministers.[109] Nevertheless, King was instrumental in preventing new extension of French control over the movement of American tobacco. Early in 1846 the government decided to restrict imports of leaf to vessels of French registry. This, King felt, was a violation of the Treaty of 1822. He so informed Guizot, then Minister of Foreign affairs, saying that the proposed action was not only injurious to American shippers but also that

[104] This report was printed as House Exec. Doc. 229, *ibid.*

[105] *Messages and Papers,* III, 605.

[106] *Messages and Papers,* IV, 56, 260, 280, 314, 339. Sen. Doc. 1, *Congressional Documents,* no. 431 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44, I), pp. 22 ff. House Exec. Doc. 173, *Congressional Documents,* no. 442 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44, IV). Journal, *House of Representatives,* no. 438 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44), pp. 156, 198.

[107] House Exec. Doc. 272, *Congressional Documents,* no. 405 (27 Cong., 2 sess., 1841-42, V).

[108] House Exec. Doc. 182, *Congressional Documents,* no. 404 (27 Cong., 2 sess., 1841-42, IV).

[109] Calhoun to King, Apr. 23, 1844, Instructions, France, 15. Only the most casual reader of the legation correspondence could miss the references to the *régie.*

it would hurt American growers.[110] Guizot argued at length that France's action was not contrary to the letter of the treaty. After proving the point to his own satisfaction he graciously surrendered to the spirit of the treaty and abandoned the plan to prevent American vessels from carrying tobacco to France.[111] Secretary of State James Buchanan and President Polk expressed their approval of King's work, but no one suggested testing the strength of other French controls.[112] When Richard Rush replaced King in France early in 1847 he was not instructed to discuss tobacco with the French. A year later, however, in March, 1848, when Buchanan learned of the fall of the French monarchy he suggested to Rush that the establishment of a republic might provide a favorable opportunity to work toward the removal of restrictions on American trade.[113] In April some tobacco merchants in Baltimore addressed to the Secretary of State a plea for diplomatic attention to French restrictions on American leaf imports. The Secretary at once passed the letter on to Rush, told him that the tobacco trade was an old issue, and instructed him to make earnest endeavors to secure a more liberal policy.[114]

During the spring and summer of 1848 Rush was completely occupied in trying to keep up with political changes resulting from the establishment of the Republic.[115] In August or September he discussed the *régie* with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and with members of the National Assembly. Virtually everyone he talked to assured him that rather than weakening the monopoly the Revolution had had the effect of making it stronger. The certainty of income from tobacco, he found, was made more attractive than ever by the uncertainty of revenues from other sources.[116] The only effect of the changes following the February Revolution was the elimination of private contractors, with their consent, and the substitution of government agents as purchasers.[117] The system itself was retained *in toto.* Rush's findings discouraged him from

[110] King of Buchanan, Jan. 29, 1846; King to Guizot, Jan. 27, 1846, enclosed in King to Buchanan, Jan. 29, 1846, Despateches, France, 30.
[111] Guizot to King, Feb. 25, 1846, enclosed in King to Buchanan, Feb. 28, 1846, *ibid.*
[112] Buchanan to King, Mar. 27, 1846, Instructions, France, 15.
[113] Buchanan to Rush, Mar. 31, 1848, *ibid.*
[114] Buchanan to Rush, Apr. 29, 1848, *ibid.*
[115] Rush to Buchanan, May 20, 1848, Despatches, France, 31. Willson, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-33.
[116] Rush to Buchanan, Nov. 6, 1848, Despatches, France, 31.
[117] Rush to Buchanan, Nov. 22, 1848, *ibid.*

pursuing the question further during his ministry which lasted until the fall of 1849. Rush was succeeded by William C. Rives, who had had some experience with the *régie* during his service in France twenty years earlier. But no one suggested that Rives test the strength of the tobacco controls and he did not initiate any move. Even in May and June of 1852 when the French Chambers went through their periodic consideration of the monopoly, as a prelude to the passage of a law extending the system, Rives paid no attention to the debates. The monopoly was extended, with little opposition, for ten years beyond the end of 1852.[118]

The endless frustrations and failures discouraged the tobacco planters and traders. They made no real attempt to obtain federal aid for exports while Taylor, Fillmore, and Pierce were in office. During Buchanan's tenure, however, the effort was revived. At a general commercial convention held in Knoxville, Tennessee, in August, 1857, a committee was appointed to draft a request asking the President's aid in securing modification of excessive foreign burdens on American tobacco.[119] The committee was aware of the failure of previous efforts but felt that further attempts should be made; its report was general and mentioned, but did not emphasize, the lack of French cooperation in attempts to develop the trade.[120] In April, 1858, DeBow's *Review* printed an article elaborating on the discussion at the Knoxville convention, and renewing the request to President Buchanan for federal intervention.[121]

These moves were followed by the most strongly worded directive yet sent from Congress in behalf of the tobacco interests. In December of 1858 the House of Representatives asked the President whether any measures had recently been taken toward obtaining a reduction of European duties. Without waiting for a reply the House, in January, 1859, initiated a Joint Resolution, which the Senate adopted without change in February.[122] In the

[118] *Le Moniteur,* Jan.-June, 1852, p. 926 (June 19, 1852); *ibid.,* July-Dec., p. 1043 (July 7, 1852).

[119] *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* Aug. 8, 1857.

[120] J. D. B. De Bow, ed., *The Commercial Review of the South and West* (New Orleans), XXIV, New Series IV (1858), 291-300.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] *Cong. Globe,* 35 Cong., 2 sess. (1858-59), Part I, 612, 620, 641-42, 876, 922. The President answered the request for information in April. See Department of State, Report Book No. 8, ms, National Archives, Washington, D. C., pp. 69-70, and *Messages and Papers,* V, 589.

resolution Congress stated that it was the duty of the federal government to use its utmost powers of negotiation, or other constitutional means including all diplomatic and commercial powers granted the federal government by the Constitution, to modify European restrictions on the tobacco trade.[123] The use of tobacco in the Orient should be encouraged, Congress urged. Negotiations should be commenced as soon as practicable with Great Britain, France, other European nations, China, and Japan, to obtain modifications of restraints and taxes on tobacco.[124]

As the Joint Resolution was passed, Lewis Cass, now Secretary of State, and John Y. Mason, the Minister to France, were considering the problems attending an attempt to make some changes in the Franco-American Treaty of 1822. Both were aware of a general desire to obtain more favorable conditions for the tobacco trade, and both were aware of the difficulties involved.[125] Despite the difficulties, Mason felt that the Joint Resolution required him to make an effort. Late in July of 1859 in a lengthy conference with M. Rouher, Minister of Commerce, Agriculture, and Public Works, Mason forcefully presented a suggestion for a modification of the *régie,* which, the American said, would leave France the full income of the monopoly but would permit imports on a competitive basis. Rouher said he thought Mason's plan worth considering and asked for a memorandum on the subject for transmission to the Minister of Finance.[126] Mason then turned to the work of revising the Treaty of 1822. Before any actual changes were made, and before any further conversations on tobacco could be held, Mason died.

A new treaty was made a part of the assignment of his successor, Charles J. Faulkner, who went to Paris early in 1860. Faulkner's first discussions of the bases of a new commercial treaty were with the Comte de Lesseps and M. Marchand, who had been authorized to act by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Marchand had been present at all interviews between Mason and Rouher and was fully conversant with the history of the negotiation. Early in the discussions Faulkner brought up the subject of the tobacco *régie* and suggested that more liberal principles might be adopted for the

[123] *Cong. Globe,* 35 Cong., 2 sess. (1858-59), Part I, 612.
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] Cass to Mason, May 3, 1858, Instructions, France, 15. Mason to Cass, Aug. 30, 1858, Despatches, France, 44.
[126] Mason to Cass, Aug. 3, 1859, *ibid.,* 45.

admission of tobacco into France. Both de Lesseps and Marchand promptly declared that the French government could not for a moment entertain a proposition leading to any modification of the monopoly. Faulkner accepted the idea that tobacco would have to be excluded from the conversations and from any agreements that might be made in a revised treaty.[127] He continued the negotiations, but had not completed a treaty when he was recalled soon after the Republican administration took over the government in the United States and ended any possibility of further support for the tobacco trade by the federal government.

The tobacco monopoly was at once a foundation sill of French fiscal policy and a bar to the development of a free market for American tobacco in France. It was the only major issue between the two nations that existed at the beginning of American independence, or that appeared later, and had not been eliminated at the outbreak of the Civil War. American diplomacy failed in this instance, primarily because of the relation of the monopoly to the French treasury. The government was reluctant to tamper with so stable a source of revenue, as was made plain to Jefferson, Gallatin, and their successors in Paris. The reluctance might have been overcome at least in part by offers of special commercial or other privileges to France, or by threats of withdrawing privileges already extended. This possibility was recognized by McLane, Livingston, Cass, and other ministers, and by private and governmental bodies in the United States. Reciprocity was never used as a lever, however, because other matters intervened, as during Livingston's mission, or because of insufficient interest on the part of the State Department, as in John Quincy Adams' negotiations leading to the Treaty of 1822. Chance also played a part in the failure to gain concessions. Something might have been done had Cass been in Paris, instead of cruising in the Mediterranean, when Forsyth's letter arrived instructing him to take up the restrictive features of the *régie* with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Anderson lacked the force needed and was not in a position to respond to Molé's invitation to discuss a new commercial treaty in which concessions for tobacco might have been gained. Finally, the trade with France was never singled out as the primary objective of those, at home or abroad, who were interested in

[127] Faulkner to Cass, Nov. 20, 1860, *ibid.*, 48.

increased tobacco exports. At home, the aims of Jenifer, Dodge, and the delegates to the tobacco conventions of the 'thirties and early 'forties, included lower duties in all countries of Europe, and in the Joint Resolution of January-February 1859 Congress demanded a world-wide effort to expand the trade. Abroad, the American ministers always had problems other than those of the tobacco trade to consider, and the urgent need that the planters felt was never completely felt by the diplomats. By contrast, Frenchmen of the Foreign and Finance Ministries, backed if not dominated by the Farmers-General and the *régie,* held to the monoploy with single-minded faith in that bulwark of the treasury. The almost immovable object remained unaffected by the less than irresistible force.

THE *SEAMAN* AND THE *SEAMAN'S BRIDE,* BALTIMORE CLIPPER SHIPS

By Lewis Addison Beck, Jr.

BALTIMORE shipbuilding was a fast-developing business in 1849 when the keel of the *Seaman* was laid. Many forces had contributed to and conflicted with shipbuilding for so many years that their effect is sometimes overlooked in an examination of the glorious excitement and heroic achievement of the so-called clipper ship era.

The pre-1800 American merchant marine was an assorted collection of cumbersome, unmaneuverable, full-bowed, underrigged, filthy craft which arrived at their various destinations by guess or by gosh, with the exception of a few craft, small in size and with more or less illegal objectives. The well-known "Baltimore" ship, which on sight was suspected of carrying contraband, was usually a topsail schooner with very light gear and tremendous canvas area. It had a beamy, shallow-draft hull with extreme deadrise, considerable drag, and raked stem, stern and masts. It was built to carry compact valuable cargo, to have a turn of speed that would help evade any craft hostile to its intent, and to be able to enter restricted waters. The Baltimore shipbuilder developed and improved the hull design of these craft through experience, and they formed the bulk of the privateer and letter-of-marque fleet of the War of 1812. American shipping up to 1816 was continuously beset by the restrictive laws of England, the hostility of the British fleet, the hostility of the Spanish authorities and assorted pirates. Cargoes were small not only because of the hostility on the seas but because America had little to ship. When, by 1816, the American seamen had earned a creditable victory over the British Fleet in American waters, they were ready for bigger and better commerce. Nobody could outsail them, they felt; so it was natural they wanted to become masters of the sea. Fortunately, things were on the move in America then.

The final break with British control came at a time when more capital was coming to the United States from Europe, notably England. Foreign markets were opening up all over the world. The young nation was expanding westward, and that West was sending goods to the eastern and gulf ports for transportation. American shipbuilding had to meet the demand for bottoms. In a large measure, this demand was met with brig-rigged, blocky-hulled craft, not very fast but seaworthy and burdensome. These were the tramp ships of the day, the traders and agents and traveling salesmen of the American merchant. Baltimore continued to produce her fast clipper schooners and rakish brigs (tonnage between 200 and 300), but she also built packet ships. These were used on "regular" runs (at least the destinations were somewhat regular) to carry cargo and passengers. In 1816 William Price launched the sharp-model ship *North Point,* 480 tons; and in 1822 the *Corinthian,* 503 tons. In 1817 the gallant *Superb,* 527 tons, was launched; and a fine ship she must have been. Each of these ships had the speed for which Baltimore builders were famous.

Railroads and canals were being built and more commodities were flowing to the ports for transport. Manufacturing was growing; immigration was increasing; cotton transport was becoming important. Baltimore commerce was with Pacific Islands and South America. Her new ships were larger and like the frigate-packet of the day, built to be sailed fast or sailed under. Competition pressed hard for faster ships. In 1833 the *Ann McKim* was laid down by Kennard & Williams, in the face of growing economic depression which ended in the panic of 1837. The *McKim* is notable because of her refinement of the old clipper-schooner hull, but she still had the deadrise, raked posts and low freeboard of her ancestors. She was a successful ship from her launching until she was dismantled in 1852.

Freight from New Orleans was increasing at a tremendous rate in 1830, due to the combined effects of the introduction of steamboat transport on the Mississippi River, development of machinery that made short-fibered cotton a profitable crop, and the discovery that sugar could be grown in the delta region of Louisiana. Receipts at New Orleans increased from $1,000,000 in 1799 to $15,000,000 in 1830. More seagoing transports with bulk capacity were needed. The chief bar to large vessels entering the Missis-

sippi was the shoals at the Balize. It became necessary to design hulls with shallow draft, so the drag and nearly all the deadrise were eliminated and the mid-section was lengthened with the result that sailing speed and staying quality were increased. From these New Orleans packets came a long line of fast Baltimore ships, among them the *Sea,* 807 tons, launched in 1838, and the first *Rattler,* 539 tons, launched in 1842.

In 1841 John Griffiths of New York gave a series of lectures on ship design, taking the Baltimore bow as a basis for calculating hull lines. His theories were adopted in 1843, and the *Rainbow,* 750 tons, was launched in New York in 1845. She was one of the first great American clipper ships. She was the clipper packet.

Between 1830 and 1850 about $150,000,000 was provided for construction of railroads, canals, and turnpikes, each of which brought more freight to the eastern and gulf ports. China was open to trade in 1842. Baltimore merchants were operating an entrepot for Brazilian coffee. Baltimore shipbuilders were busy with small, fast clipper ships for the China trade. In 1848 L. B. Culley launched the *Architect,* 520 tons; Abrahams and Culley, the *Grey Eagle,* 479 tons; H. Meads & T. Horney, the *Grey Hound,* 536 tons; and Caleb Goodwin & Co., the *Thomas Wattson,* 349 tons. That same year Mexico ceded to the United States the territory that includes California, and gold was discovered on the American River near Sacramento. By September, 1848, the news of the "El Dorado" had reached the east coast cities and shipping began an exciting race of transport. The new *Architect* was in New Orleans and was one of the first clippers to clear for California, January 16, 1849. The *Grey Eagle* sailed from Philadelphia; the *Grey Hound* had left Baltimore on January 10 for Valparaiso and was later routed to San Francisco. A great fleet of more than 750 vessels cleared east coast ports for California during 1849. Both sailings and launchings were shifted to high gear.

Two Baltimore men were in the midst of the feverish haste to get to the gold fields, to man ships, to improve the design of vessels, and to build ships for rounding Cape Horn. They were Edward Johnsey Bell and Richard Henry Bell, respectively the eighth and eleventh children of Richard (Dicky) Bell, who had been a sergeant in the old Sixth Regulars that "backed up the line" at the battle of North Point. Edward had been apprenticed

to his father and was now a ship carpenter whose home was down Fawn Street, west of Exeter in Old Town. Richard, a somewhat obscure personality, is reputed to have been a sailmaker and ship carpenter, but no definite records of his training are available. However, he lived with his brother, and both men had grown up and been apprentice boys in the shipyards of the "Inner Basin" and the City Dock. Thus it is natural that in 1849 they joined in a firm, styled E. J. and R. Bell, Shipbuilders, and established their yard on the narrow strip of land of City Block forming the outer bank of the ship basin called City Dock. This basin was at the south end of what was then called West Falls Avenue and at the mouth of Jones Falls. Theirs was not a large yard, but it suited their needs at the time and must have been the pride and joy of the young mastercraftsmen. It was just east of Mr. Butler's yard which was at the western end of City Block. Their first ships were small schooners built for "gentlemen of this city." They had launched two of them in quick succession before their big chance came. Early in 1850 Captain Joseph Myrick approached them with the proposition of building for him and others a small, fast clipper ship of the very best materials and latest model, to make the run to San Francisco in record time and to be built in a hurry to catch the increasing trade around the Horn. This was quite an order for a new firm, but doubtless the deal was closed at once. Materials and skilled workmen were at hand. There were Charlie Cockey who did fine joining; Mr. Bill Clark in Hunter Alley who was a master sailmaker and who had married the Bell boys' sister Rachel; and Jabez Wilks to do the painting. Three lumber yards nearby carried Chesapeake white oak and cedar. Here were capital and skills, and the boys had some ideas as to what they would like to build into such a craft. Things started to hum, and there must have been some talk around Fells Point about the extreme lines of the frame the Bells were setting up. The Baltimore *Sun* on Saturday morning, April 27, 1850, announced:

Another New Ship — The Messrs. Bell, at their ship yard, lower end of the Falls, are just getting up the frame of a fine ship of about six hundred tons burthen, building for Captain Myrick and others. Capt. M., who lately in command of the ship Seaman, superintends her construction. She is destined for the Pacific trade. The Messrs. Bell are new beginners, and this is the first vessel of this class which they have undertaken. They have recently launched two very fine schooners, built for gentlemen of this city.

It was a rough spring with unusual rainfall and unseasonably cool days. The summer was one of storms and heat. A large lumber yard on Fells Point burned with a considerable loss to the owners, who were insured in an "Ohio" company. The public bathhouse came adrift during a storm and was damaged. Stonefights were numerous, and there were many accidents on the railroads. Then hot September came, and the *Seaman* was nearly completed. For all the discomforts and excitement the great day arrived — the launching. In anticipation of the event the *Sun* published on Saturday morning, September 7, 1850:

Launch—At ten o'clock this morning there will be launched from the ship yard of the Messrs. Bell, on the City Block, a first class clipper ship of 550 tons, carpenter's measurement. She is to be called the "Seaman," is 136 feet 8 inches in length, 28 feet 10 inches beam, and 15 feet depth of hold. She is a sharp vessel, almost as much so as the Greyhound, and is constructed of the best materials — Her interior finish is of a superior character, having two cabins, with state room accomodations for twenty passengers. Each state-room is furnished with washbowl, etc., for the accommodation of the passengers, and connected with the whole is a bathhouse, where the passengers may indulge in a saltwater ablution whenever they please. Indeed, all her accommodations are in the latest style, affording every convenience. She is coppered and copper fastened, and is furnished with one of Holmes' patent steering wheels, and in every appointment is fitted after the most approved styles. She was built for Thomas J. Hand & Co., of this city, and is designed for the Pacific trade. Her construction was under the immediate superintendence of Captain Myrie [Myrick], a veteran in the Pacific navigation, who will command her, and who is also one of her owners. The joiners' work of this beautiful ship was done by Charles Cockey; painting by J. Wilks; blacksmithing by Coleman & Cleveland; rigging by D. Thomas; brass work by French Tischmeyer; plumbing and copper work by J. B. Smull; and carving by Samuel Hubbard. In all these departments, the work has been admirably executed.

Saturday the seventh was hot and humid as only Baltimore mornings can be. Just about launching time the heavens opened. No doubt Capt. M. said, "She'll get wetter than this. Let's put her over." She went down the ways all right but must have struck a mud bank as soon as she was waterborne, for she heeled over after she was launched. Here is the report of September 9, 1850, which appeared in the *Sun*:

Launches—On Saturday morning last, at the appointed time, notwithstanding the heavy rain, the fine ship Seaman was launched from the shipyard

of the Messrs. Bell. As she entered the water, for some cause, she canted over to the larboard side so much as to shift all the live cargo, carpenters' benches, etc., on board, but she immediately righted, and sat in the water as still as a post. She is truly a beautiful craft, and the young gentlemen builders may congratulate themselves on this, their first, attempt at a large vessel. After the launch a collation was set out, of which the workmen and others partook.

Shipbuilding was in a heyday. The Baltimore *American & Daily Advertiser* of October 4, 1850, published an article which read in part:

We are glad to be able to state that Baltimore has come in for a full share of the unprecedented increase in shipbuilding—more vessels being launched during the present year than perhaps in any preceding one, whilst a large number are still on the stocks.—Since the 1st of January there have been launched at Baltimore the ocean steamers "Pampero" and "Monumental City," the ships "A. M. Lawrence," "Susan L. Fitzgerald," "F. W. Brune," "Sea Nymph," "Seaman," "North Carolina," "Fanny" and "Banshee," the barques "Reindeer," "Ellen Morison" and "Harriet Cooper," the brigs "Col. Chesnut," "Sun Beam" and "John C. Legrand," and many others of a smaller class. — The greater part of the above are beautiful specimens of "Baltimore clippers," and many of them are already ploughing the deep on their way to California.

A daguerreotype of the *Seaman's Bride* (shown in illustrations), consort of the *Seaman,* shows her masts standing prior to her launching, so it may be assumed that this same advanced stage in her rigging was reached before the *Seaman* went into the water. At any rate her fitting out was accomplished in a short time, and on September 30, 1850, the Office of the Collector of Customs, Baltimore, issued register No. 87 to her. The Baltimore Exchange reading room transcript of the telegraph reports shows:

Thursday, October 3rd, 1850

Weather: 8 A. M.—Wind	NW—Weather	Fair—Therm.	55—Bar.	30.05
12 M	NW	do	61	30.05
5 P. M	NW	do	62	30.05

sailed — Ship George Brown, Higgins, for Philadelphia; Seaman (new), Myrick, New York.[1]

Off to sea at last! What a fine day it was for a sailing, just the right kind of day to shake down a new ship. I wonder what Captain Myrick's thoughts were as he ran down the Chesapeake

[1] Merchants' Exchange Reading Room Records, Maryland Historical Society.

on a broad reach to the Capes. Did he want to coax her or beat her? She must have been a lovely thing. Hearsay has it she was a perfect little beauty, reminding one of a yacht, ship-rigged.

The partners in the venture and their shares are shown on the ship's register as Thomas J. Hand and Joseph Myrick, 1/4; John Clark, 1/4; P. Edward Brennan, 1/4; William Hooper, 1/8; and James W. Alnutt, 1/8. These men were now in the race to California; they lost no time in hoisting the house flag to the main truck, because on November 23, 1850, the *Seaman* cleared from New York towards San Francisco. Incidentally, the house flag was identified recently by Mr. John S. Styring of London, England, as a white burgee with blue crescent facing the tack. She was carrying her flag proudly, and evidence that Captain Myrick was driving her is clear. Her first day out she had strong NNW gales with thick weather, snow and hail. The abstract log notes that she was under double reefed topsails and that " the Gulf sea was very high and irregular causing the loss of one of the Quarter-boats." [2] Later the weather settled down to moderate breezes and the *Seaman* ran her easting down by December 1. After 21 2/3 days at sea she crossed the equator near Saint Paul Rocks in Longitude 30° 42'W, " the trade winds having been at no time North of East." Two days later she passed 8 miles East of Fernando da Noronha Island. The next day, December 18, the log makes a restrained comment on the performance of the vessel: " During the day fresh breeze and fine weather. Cleared Cape St. Augustine 16 miles. Having sailed close hauled, braced sharp, since taking the trades in 21° N Lat. With an ordinary sailing ship, I must have fallen to leeward." On Christmas Day at 29° 35' South Latitude, 44° 38' West Longitude the log read:

> First part fresh breeze with thick rainy weather, having very much the appearance of a sudden change to the SW. At 8 P. M. wind came to south and west with rain—tacked ship to westward and commenced immediately to shorten sail, but so suddenly did the wind increase, and so furiously did it blow, that I expected to lose sails or masts, before the topsails could be close reefed and courses furled; which from the violence of the wind occupied four hours.

On New Year's Day at 40° 32'S Lat., 56° 19'W Long.:

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[2] In the files of the Industrial Records Office (former Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

First and latter part light breeze and cloudy. Middle part moderate breeze with thick rainy weather — After night the water assumed a white, flaming and most beautiful colour — it bore no resemblance to the sparkling and glowing appearance which I have occasionally observed before. The water alive with small fish about 4 inches in length, and great number of Porposes which were after the small fish, and they together with the ship seemed to be running in a sea of milk — This appearance continued with more or less brightness during the night. On a previous voyage, about the same place, and at the same season, observed a similar appearance, both of which were bright and beautiful beyond description.

By January 8, 1851, after 46 days at sea, the ship was off Cape Blanco and crossing the 50th parallel in a gale. She was getting far south now; there were finback whales sighted but no cape pigeons. Myrick was well inside the Falklands and heading for the east end of Staten Island. There were gales with "furious squalls"; the barometer got down to 29.31; they "saw Staten Land." On January 16, 52 days out, the log reads rather laconically: "First and Middle part a fresh gale with heavy squalls, at 8 P. M. saw Cape Horn bearing W by N. Latter part more moderate and cloudy with rain." The two days brought more heavy westerly gales, and at noon on January 18 "Diego Ramirez Islands bore west 6 miles." Myrick was having a bad time working his ship around the Horn, land being so close that there was nothing for him to do but bear off on a starboard tack and get some sea room and westing. Traffic was picking up too. On January 19 they spoke the Brig *Potomac* (89 days from Portland) and the next day "passed three ships upon the same tack with ourselves — Exchanged signals with them, and they were soon out of sight astern." Now it was time to turn northward up the west coast of South America. On February 3, she crossed the latitude of Valparaiso; on the twenty-fifth, she crossed the line, 89 days out and going strong. On March 5, nearing the latitude of San Francisco and at the 133rd meridian, Captain Myrick decided to turn eastward, and the next day the *Seaman's* track squared away for the Golden Gate. On March 11, the fine little ship was off the Heads, and she entered immediately. Joseph Myrick was a happy man, for his log closes: "Arrived at San Francisco 107 days from N. Y., it being the 2d best passage that has ever been made from U. S. to this port, Being beaten only by the Ship Sea Witch."

Leaving San Francisco April 18, 1851, in ballast, she had an

uneventful passage to Valparaiso. The log reads, "Arrived in Valparaiso, having had a passage of 7 days less than any on record." She had taken 35 days.

After a week in Valparaiso the *Seaman* departed for Rio de Janiero. She ran south with increasingly bad weather, finally rounding Cape Horn on June 12. The log records gales increasing from "brisk" to "heavy" to "severe." On the thirteenth the Captain wrote, "out of 13 times which I have passed and repassed Cape Horn, never have seen so hard a gale, or one of so long continuance. Neither have I seen it so cold. Much snow and ice upon the ship, the latter making freely upon the deck at midday." Running northward in the South Atlantic, the ship experienced continued gales until June 24 when the wind failed at Lat. 30° S. Ghosting in the remaining 400 miles, the *Seaman* arrived at Rio on June 28, 28 days from Valparaiso and 63 days sailing from San Francisco.

The ship remained in Rio until July 19, when she sailed for Baltimore. This was a routine passage for many other vessels but not for the *Seaman.* Making the best of pleasant weather and light to moderate breezes, she worked her way close in around the shoulder of Brazil and up the mid-Atlantic, arriving without fanfare at Cape Henry on August 19, 31 days from Rio and 94 days sailing from San Francisco. This record passage from west to east *has never been equaled*! On Thursday, August 21, 1851, the Baltimore Exchange reading room journal reads:

> Arrived, Ship Seaman, Myrick, from San Francisco via Valparaiso and Rio Janiero, 94 days — 59 from Valparaiso and 31 from Rio Janiero to the Capes, to Thos. J. Hand & Co. — Coffee, Tapioca and Rosewood to F. W. Brune & Sons, Kirkland, Chase & Co. and others.

While the *Seaman* was absent from her home port, the Bell brothers had been busy with a new and larger clipper, the *Seaman's Bride* (668 tons). She had the same general lines as the *Seaman* and was launched July 25, 1851, for Mr. Hand and others. Captain Myrick left the *Seaman* to assume command of her consort. The *Seaman's Bride* had the "flash" which the *Seaman* possessed, but a combination of adverse weather, unavoidable accident, and a gathering economic storm seems to have plagued her career under the flag of the United States. Her first voyage from New York toward San Francisco commenced December 12,

THE *SEAMAN'S BRIDE* UNDER CONSTRUCTION

From a daguerreotype made in 1851 prior to the launching. The picture, somewhat damaged, shows that the bow was a transitional one in the development of the clipper ship.

Photo by J. H. Schaefer & Son

THE *SEAMAN'S BRIDE*

From an oil painting by William Marsh done in 1852. Presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Oliver K. Hand and James K. Hand.

THE *SEAMAN*

From a sketch made about 1852 and given to the Maryland Historical Society by the Messrs. Hand.

1851. She lost her foremast in a squall off Cape Horn, spent about a month in refitting at Valparaiso and finally arrived at the Golden Gate on May 20, 1852. From there, she sailed to Shanghai and on to New York by way of the Cape of Good Hope. She made one more round trip from New York to San Francisco, 120 days westbound and 110 days returning. Her last voyage around Cape Horn commenced January 24, 1854, at New York. She arrived 119 days later in San Francisco. From there she sailed to Manila and, continuing westward, returned to New York on January 6, 1855. On March 13, 1855, she sailed from New York to Hamburg where she was sold to interests in that city, and her name was changed to *Carl Staegoman.* Here the story of the *Seaman's Bride* fades into obscurity.

Turning back to the *Seaman,* we know that Captain Joseph Drew relieved Captain Myrick of command, and on November 5, 1851, commenced his sea account. This time the *Seaman* was enroute to Callao, Peru. She crossed the equator after 21 days, sighted Cape Horn on December 26 and arrived at Callao Roads on January 14, 1852, at 4 P. M. — 74 days at sea.

After 64 days in port the *Seaman* cleared Callao for Rio de Janeiro, on March 19. She enjoyed pleasant weather and fresh breezes to 53° S Lat. where gales overtook her. The winds were changeable and strong and the sea very rough as she rounded the Horn on April 7. Captain Drew's log is barren of all details except the entry of April 12, when the ship entered the Roaring Forties. He says:

> Calm. Thick, cloudy, threatening appearance of the weather. Middle part light airs from S. At 8 A. M. the wind increased suddenly to a strong gale. At noon a violent gale; ship scudding under fore sail, close reefed fore topsail & fore topmast stay sail. Barometer down to 28.10 which I have never before seen in this latitude. Distance run this day *346* miles.

The storm lasted two days, and on April 14 they "turned out all reefs and set all light sail." The ship arrived at Rio on April 24, 36 days from Callao. Continuing her voyage on May 9, the *Seaman* departed Rio for Baltimore. More pleasant weather and favorable winds were their luck, and she was at her best, for she arrived at Cape Henry on June 8, 31 days from Rio, exactly the same time as her previous run between those points.

Refitting and turnabout accomplished, the *Seaman* sailed for

New York in command of Captain William B. Daniels. Daniels was not the cultured man that Captain Myrick was if handwriting and spelling are any criteria. He was a good navigator, however, and kept command of the ship until her end. After she had loaded her cargo at New York, the *Seaman* sailed for San Francisco, passing Sandy Hook at 6 P. M., August 3, 1852, and arriving at San Francisco on December 9, 1852, 129 days total time from New York.

The next log commences on December 26, 1852, for the passage from San Francisco towards Rio de Janeiro. One wonders how many of the crew were shanghaied after a glorious Christmas. In any event, the first entry reads:

> On the first part of December 26th Sea Account sailed from San Francisco. At 3 P. M. discharged the pilot and stood out to Sea with a moderate breeze from the South and Eastward with thick cloudy rainy weather — middle part strong gales and hard rain — Latter part moderate winds and pleasant.

The *Seaman* reached Rio on March 3, 1853, 68 days from San Francisco.

Loading the *Seaman* was complete on March 18, 1853, and at 10 A. M. that day she sailed from Rio towards New Orleans. Light airs and torrential rain beset the ship the first few days; after that brisk breezes and pleasant weather continued throughout. " At Midnight passed the N. E. end of the Island of Tobago — at noon the Island of Granada in sight bearing North by compass dist. 7 miles "; this was the entry for April 8. By April 14 " at 6 P. M. Saw the East end of Jamaica — at 10 do. Morant Point. Light bearing North dist. about 6 leagues. At Noon Padro bluff bearing N by E by compass, dist. 3 Leagues." At 4 A. M. on April 18 the *Seaman* entered the Straits of Yucatan, having Cape San Antonio Light (on the SW tip of Cuba) in sight. The ship arrived at the Balize, the mouth of the Mississippi River, on April 21, 1853, 35 days from Rio, 103 days sailing from San Francisco. On April 24, Captain Daniels carefully forwarded his abstract log to Lieutenant M. F. Maury, in Washington:

> to. Liut. Maury
>
> Sir I have found your charts and sailing derections to be of great service to navigators in the Atlantic and also the Pasific Oceans and I

keep an abstract accrding to promis as for I have been able on account of having no thermometer most part of the time

Your obedint Searvant
W B Daniels
Commanding
Ship Seaman

At this point in the history of the *Seaman,* original source fails. What voyages the ship made between the middle of May, 1853, and February 6, 1855, are not known. It may be surmised from the ports where the ship's registers were issued that she was engaged in the New York–New Orleans traffic.

Concerning the loss of the *Seaman* we can be sure. Like most bad news, it is thoroughly recorded and documented. Register Number 3 is boldly cancelled on its face and a notation added, "Surrendered at Dept. of State May 12th, 1855. Lost at Sea." In the National Archives is a clipping from an unidentified newspaper which reads:

Particulars of the Burning of Ship Seaman, of Baltimore.

We have already noticed the loss of this fine ship, and we now give some particulars obtained in conversation with the Captain, which are not without interest:

On the evening of the 6th of February, (sea reckoning), being the twelfth day after her sailing from New Orleans, In N. lat. 36°, W. lon. 63°, the wind then blowing a strong gale, they noticed an extraordinary darkness about sunset, and the clouds — it had been cloudy with rain all day — had descended so low, notwithstanding the violent wind, that they concealed the top-gallant yards. This darkness increased until about 6, P. M., when suddenly an explosion was heard like the discharge of a cannon, and the Captain saw globes of fire, as large apparently as a man's head, tumbling down the spars and rigging. A cry arising among the crew, the mate went forward to see if any were injured and found all more or less stunned, but only two hurt and those slightly.

In a few moments the cabin was discovered to be filled with smoke, and it was seen rising from the forward ventilator, which was removed and the fore hold found to be all in a blaze. The force pump, a powerful one, was rigged, and a stream of water brought to bear upon the fire, but the upper part of the cargo consisting of bales of cotton, this was without effect. Smoke was now pouring from the after ventilator, showing the progress of the fire. Thinking to be able to work more effectually, they brought the ship by the wind, but this only made matters worse, and they squared away before it again. It being now evident that the water was of little avail, they closed and secured every orifice by which air could

find admission into the hold, trusting by this method to retard, if not to subdue the flames which were threatening to burst out under their feet; reserving only a sufficient aperture to admit the stream of water which was constantly played upon them.

At eleven at night the decks began bursting up with the force of the heated air and flames. The crew now took axes and cut holes in the decks to allow the entrance of the seas which were breaking over the ship. The water now poured in by tons, but though it checked the flames, it did not extinguish them; and all hands were obliged to work at the pumps to keep the ship from filling. Some attempts were made to get a part of the cargo out of the fore-hatch, but it was found impracticable; those of the crew who had descended into the hold being dragged out in a state of insensibility from the effects of the smoke and steam, while the gases arising from it almost suffocated those who were on deck, compelling them again to stop the apertures in order to exclude the air.

About 3 A. M., all idea of saving the vessel was abandoned; but the men did not cease their labor at the force-pump, for though all was on fire beneath them, and threatening every instant to burst up in flames around them, their only hope for life was in clinging to the burning ship, as the boats would not have lived in such a sea.

Their course was now altered for Bermuda, the men being exhausted with labor, and the fire bursting up through the decks. Two or three attempts were made to get some provisions from the cabin, but the courageous fellows who ventured down were drawn out insensible.

At 9 A. M. the look-out at the masthead reported a sail on the weather beam; so all prudent sail was made, and they stood after her. At half-past eleven they spoke her, and she proved to be the brig Marine of Boston, Jordan, master, bound to Cienfuegos, Cuba. Captain Jordan promptly offered his assistance in taking off the crew and whatever else could be saved. At a quarter-past one P. M., the crew being now all on board the Marine, the captain, first officer and one man left the ship, and before they reached the brig, the fire was blazing above the rails and seizing on the rigging. At half-past two, when about three miles distant, the fore-mast was seen to fall, and the ship to be wrapped in smoke and flames. Shortly after she disappeared from sight.

Captain Daniels expresses his warmest gratitude for the kindness of Captain Jordan and all on board the Marine, who spared no exertion to rescue him and his crew with what little they could save of their personal effects, and who were unremiting in their friendly offices during the rest of the voyage.

How on their arrival at Cienfuegos the whole town was thrown into consternation supposing them to be *filibusters,* how they were forbidden to land, threatened with various penalties, their papers seized, and themselves while in transit across the island, minutely inspected even to the pulling off the captain's boots in search of treasonable documents, are matters which do not belong to this narrative.

W. H. B.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND AS PORTRAYED IN THE "ITINERANT OBSERVATIONS" OF EDWARD KIMBER

Editorial Note

Edward Kimber (1719-1769) was an English hack-writer who flourished in silence as the anonymous author of seven novels and numerous shorter pieces. He had a flair for catching the dramatic aspect of life and unfolding it forcefully, despite the grandiloquence of his style. One of his novels, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Anderson* (London, 1754), presents an excellent picture of colonial life in America based upon the author's firsthand knowledge.[1] A factual narrative of Kimber's own adventures in America appeared as a series of articles under the general title of "Itinerant Observations in America" in the *London Magazine* during the years 1745 and 1746.[2]

After volunteering for service under Oglethorpe at Frederica, Georgia, where the English were fighting the Spaniards, Edward Kimber traveled from New York to Frederica, experiencing a variety of adventures and observing closely the American scene.[3]

[1] See W. Gordon Milne, "A Glimpse of Colonial America as Seen in an English Novel of 1754," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLII (1947), 239-252. A story told to Kimber in America which inspired the plot of the novel appears on pages 330-1.

[2] *London Magazine,* XIV (1745), 395-6, 549-52, 602-4, XV (1746), 125-8, 248, 321-30, 572-3, 620-4. The "Observations" were reproduced in their entirety in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* XV (1907), 143-59, 215-25, and the *Georgia Historical Society Collections,* IV (1878). The identity of the author was established in 1918 by Leonard L. Mackall (see *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* II (1918), 71) and was fully confirmed by Frank Gees Black in his article "Edward Kimber: Anonymous Novelist of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature,* XVII (1935), 27-42.

[3] He published an account of the military adventure in *A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine on Florida* (London, 1744), also anonymous, which has been reprinted by Charles E. Goodspeed & Co., Boston, 1935, with bibliographical notes by Sidney A. Kimber, a descendant of the author. This pamphlet was attributed to G. L. Campbell until recently when it was discovered that Campbell was only a pseudonym used by Kimber.

That part of his journey which took place in Maryland is reprinted here.[4] The unnumbered footnotes are Kimber's. Editorial additions are enclosed in brackets.

Some Account of a Voyage from New York to Sene-puxon in Maryland

Not being able then, on account of the excessive Severity of the Season, and the Depth of the Snow, which was near 4 Feet, to pursue our Route, by Land, thro' the Province of Pensilvania, we took Passage on board a Sloop * of about 70 Tons, bound to Senepuxon in Maryland, which is generally a Run of 3 or 4 Days, with Land close aboard, and a fine level Shore. A Traveller should never depend upon any Thing, but his own Sight, or the Experience of a Friend, for the Character of a Vessel and its Commander: 'Tis as absolutely necessary to have a personal Knowledge of those two principal Points of marine Happiness or Misery, as to consult the Temper of your Wife or Friend, or the Situation of your Villa, before you undertake the uncertain Voyage thro' the tempestuous Ocean of Life. Indeed, these are but transient Ills, you'll say, and you may see plainly the End of them: Very true; but as in an unhappy Marriage, so in a Vessel of bad Trim, and under the Government of an obstinate Steersman, you frequently but end your Anxieties in the Arms of Death. Next to the Pleasure you enjoy in having, at Sea, a good, tight, clean Vessel under you, nothing can be more agreeable than a sociable, humane Skipper, who consults the Ease and Satisfaction of his accidental Family before any selfishly sordid Inclination. Misfortunes may be

[4] Those parts appearing in volume XV, pp. 125-8, 248, 321-30. The Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore set of the *London Magazine* was used. For an account of the region of Senepuxon see William B. Marye "The Sea Coast of Maryland," *MdHM,* XL (1945), 94-118, 318-20.

* The Ports of America are filled with various Kinds of Vessels, not over common in very long Voyages in Europe; where three Mast Vessels are generally used, as much on account of their better Accommodations for living, as on account of the more tempestuous Seas they trade in; for most commonly the Coasts of America and the West-Indies are a very safe and pleasant Navigation, and long Voyages have been made in very small Craft. Sloops and Schooners are the general Built they run upon, and they are very adroit in the Contrivance of them, particularly at Bermudas, where they build prodigious Numbers for Sale. They have also Galleys, Settees, Perriaguas, Launches, &c too many to mention. I can't imagine the experienced Sailor would ever choose to trust himself in any Thing preferably to a three Mast Vessel; for as to Sloops, for Instance, 'tis plain you have but one Dependence, and may be swallow'd up before you can remedy your loss.

lightned by good Company, and the Charms of Friendship will make Amends even for the Horrors of Famine and the most dreadful Tempests. We had no reason to complain of our Master, indeed; but of an Illness that confined him to his Cabin the whole Voyage, (which was many Days longer than we expected or desired) and which rendered the only able Seaman we found amongst us of no Service. The Vessel was our greatest Grievance we soon found, being prodigiously foul, rotten, and leaky; and a Pack of stupid Planters, the Crew, who never had been 10 Leagues from Land since they were born, increased that Misfortune. Unknowing all this, we went on board as gaily as we would have done into a Packet-Boat, and found the Master in Bed, which Inconvenience we readily put up with, as the Voyage was so short and safe, and as he informed us, his Mate was a very able Mariner. Our Complement then was, 6 Hands belonging to the Sloop, 3 Passengers, and 7 Negro Slaves; and after taking some necessary Refreshments from Town, we weigh'd and fell down under Nurten Island, and might have taken the Advantage of an immediate North-Wester, to have put out to Sea; but here there happened a great Dispute between the Captain and his strange Associates, and in short they refus'd to run beyond Sandy-Hook that Night. It seems they had engaged to come this Trip, and to be paid in the Freight of such Goods, as they bought at New York for their Plantation Uses, and so were not absolutely under Command; and were resolv'd to lie under the Windward Shore, to consume half an Anchor of New England Rum before they left the Sight of New York. Rewards and Menaces were of no Service, so we even made a Virtue of Necessity, and wrapping ourselves in our Bedding, slept quietly till next Morning; but found when we arose, that two of our Negroes had lost the Use of their Hands and Feet by the Frost (which was excessively severe) notwithstanding they were warmly clad, and had the free Use of that necessary Liquor (on these Occasions) Rum, in what Quantity they pleas'd. Our regret at the Disadvantages we had fallen upon, and which our Time and Occasions would not permit us to remedy, could be equalled by nothing but the Displeasure we felt in leaving that delightful Country, that Land of social Joys and heighten'd Pleasures, that flow'd in upon us during our Stay, notwithstanding the rugged Season. Looking behind me, methinks, the Winter Piece is inexpressibly, tho' mournfully agreeable, the

River flowing in a long Course, till the Sight loses it in an almost imperceptible Point: On one Shore, the goodly City, all surrounded, as it were, with the Waves, reigns supreme Mistress of the brumal Region, and by its aspiring Fumes, seems to declare itself the proper Resort and Comfort of the Season; below it, as far as Eyes can view, the white Beach extends itself, and above its Borders, the now deserted Country Houses rear their unsocial Chimneys.—On the opposite Shore of Long-Island, all bleach'd with Snow, appears the sad Reverse of Spring,—the tuneful Warblers but just, weakly, hop over the unfertile Stubble, and raise themselves to complain, in mournful Chirpings, of their forlorn Conditions; nor pour out those Floods of Harmony that erst awaken'd, with enliv'ning Melody, the early Swain. The whole Prospect is as of a large Desart, save that here and there the crawling Fences * of the Plantations, and the aspiring Vapours of the humble Cottages, shew the Country to be inhabited; and some Remains of the rich Gifts of Ceres, unthoughtfully neglected by the Husbandman, still betray the Footsteps of vernal Industry, and somewhat alleviate my Wintry Chagrin. At Five in the Evening, we were abreast of Barnegat, on the Coast of New Jersey, and the next Day, at Noon, we open'd De la War [Delaware] River, Cape Henlopen bearing S. W. about 12 Miles, and had an Expectancy of a prosperous Voyage; when a contrary Wind springing up, we found our Sloop made nothing of plying to Windward, nor answer'd her Helm, and that she was so leaky that the common Spelling at the Pump would not keep her above Water, so that two Hands were constantly employ'd at that Work, immediately, and without the least Distinction of Persons. It seems, that hoping to meet a speedy Passage, they had neglected telling us of their making so much Water; but now were fain to confess their Folly, and implore our Assistance. 'Twas in vain to argue in such a Case, and Self-preservation excited us to use our best Endeavours. All the next Day we lost Way prodigiously and the cold bleak Weather almost perish'd us: Upon comparing our Reckonings, we found ourselves above 50 Leagues from the nearest Land, which we judg'd to be the most Southerly Part of New Jersey. This last twenty-four Hours we were drown'd in an Inundation of Rain, which however, nothing abated the Wind,

* Worm Fences [zigzag fences of rails crossing at their ends.]

which blew with redoubled Fury, and the irritated Waves toss'd us aloft and alow in a most frightful Manner, considering the bad condition of our Habitation, which had not a sound Plank in her, and the Water pour'd in upon us on all Sides. The next Morning open'd, all wild and tempestuous as the last, and our Distractions were increas'd, by three more of our People being taken violently ill of feverish Disorders, occasion'd by the perpetual Watching, the incessant Labour and the Wet and Cold they were constantly subject to; and still more so, by our Hen-Coop with our Fowls, and 2 or 3 Hogs, which were our only remaining Flesh Provisions, being wash'd overboard, and our Lee Gunnel almost all torn away. We were oblig'd to shift our Loading and Ballast on the other Side, and from this Time could keep no Reckoning; but lay to, under our double-reef'd Main Sail, expecting the worst that could befal us. In shifting the Ballast we found one considerable Leak, which I stopp'd as well as I Could with an old Salvage well paid with Tallow, and over it nail'd an old Tin Plate, which gave some little Respite to the Pump. We now began to think seriously of the Danger we were involv'd in, and the Death that seem'd inevitable. We had no Carpenter, nor one Person that understood Sea Affairs by Profession, of the whole Crew left, and in short every Thing was fallen into our Hands; we were but two, and the Negroes were all unable to move, the Frost having so affected their Limbs, as to call for present Amputation; two of them being mortified to the Knees and Shoulders: And here, I must observe, that in general, they are the most awkward, ungain Wretches, in cold Weather, that can be met with, and if not stirr'd up, will sit whole Days shivering in a Corner without moving Hand or Foot: They seem to be form'd only for the sultry Climate they were born in, and those they are principally apply'd to the Use of; tho' when inur'd to a cold one long, they bear it tolerably well. We ourselves now began to feel the Effects before mention'd: But what will not Men undergo—how many Hardships that seem quite impossible to human Strength, to preserve that valuable Blessing, Life! This Day we had a Kind of melancholy *Memento Mori* presented to us, being the Rudder, Main Yard and Part of the Cutwater of a Ship, which floated along Side us, and soon after the Body of a Seaman, in a Jacket and Trowzers, who seem'd newly to have met his Fate, and who about two Ship's Lengths

from us was devour'd by three or four hideous Sharks. I was glad that none but ourselves were then upon Deck, and we forbore to speak at all of such a disagreeable Sight, which every one is not Stoic enough to contemplate without abandoning himself to fruitless Despair. At Night—may never my affrighted Eyes or my amazed and terrified Ears be Witness to the same—what Horrors were we seized with, and how dreadful our Condition!.

> All black above—below all foamy white,
> A horrid darkness, mix'd with dreadful light!
> Here long, long hills, roul far and wide away,
> There abrupt values fright back th' intruding day.*

The Deluges of Rain mix'd with the Waves that continually broke over us, the howling Blasts that rent our Ears—the total Darkness, were nothing to our internal Misery. Delirious Ravings on one Side—expiring Groans on another—and the Calls of Help, which we were unable to give, on another, quite distracted us. Bread, Water, and Rum, were all we had left; these were our Provisions for the Sick, these our only Sustenance; and these decreasing so fast as to promise the Addition of the greatest of all Evils to those we already endur'd. Indeed, had our Fowls been preserv'd, we could not have dressed them, we could keep no Fire, and could find no Cooks, and therefore we contented ourselves with Bread dipp'd in Rum for our Patients, and a Draught of Water after it, and Bread and Water for ourselves. We forbore to see after the Negroes, but nail'd down the Hatches, and left them to the Mercy of Providence, we weaken'd apace, and had no Retreat from the Deck, but lash'd ourselves to some Part of the Quarter-Deck, and slept and watch'd by Turns. Thus we weather'd three more dismal Days and Nights, in the two last of which the Wind shifted to the Eastward, tho' without abating of its wonted Fury. However, we made what Way we could, in our present Trim, every Minute expecting to meet with Destruction. We made, as far as we could guess, near 8 Knots an Hour, not daring all these last 24 Hours to direct our Eyes to our distemper'd Messmates in the Cabin, some of whom we were pretty sure deceas'd in the Morning. We shap'd our Course as near as possible, to run in with the next Land, and the next Morning made Shift, one of us, weak as we were, to get up to the Mast

* I forget where my Memory furnish'd me with these Lines.

Head. None can conceive, with what Rapture we descry'd it all abroad; but we could not tell where we had fall'n in with it, as not having had an Observation for a long Time. The unexpected Sight almost depriv'd us of our Senses with very Joy, and instantaneously, as it were, the Wind dy'd away, and a gentle Breeze succeeded, that carried us smoothly to our Mark. We open'd a large Inlet, which we stood in for, and safely came to Anchor, in 12 Fathom Water, the Bottom a fine Sand mix'd with small Shells.

Thus then we found ourselves, to our excessive Satisfaction, free from those dire Apprehensions that had so long disturb'd our Minds, and those Fatigues that had jaded our Bodies, in this little, uncommonly difficult Voyage. As soon as we had dropp'd anchor, we saw several Flats * full of Men, whom we perceived to be our Countrymen; but how as our Joy rais'd into Admiration, when we were inform'd, that the Place we were in, and had so miraculously lighted on, was Ascateaque Inlet to Senepuxon! We ador'd the Goodness of Providence, and return'd unfeigned Thanks for our Deliverance; and now we had Time to contemplate the Beauties of the Scene, and to indulge this new Satisfaction. The Bay we were in, was open to the Sea on the Eastward, and on every Side else, landlock'd. We could plainly now discover the Cries of the industrious Hind, tending his improving Flock; and on every Side, the Lowing of Kine, the Bleating of the fleecy Charge, and the Neighing of the generous Steed struck our Ears; and we exchanged for this new Musick, the Jargon of bellowing Winds, the bursting Rains, and the roaring Thunder. The Beach all glittering with conchous Riches, and white as the driven Snow attracted our Eyes on every Side; the green Marshes and Savannahs, even at this Time, appear'd in fresh Verdure; and the Woods, from the great Quantities of Ever-greens, seemed to wear a Summer Hue. Up the Country, the Creeks, whose Meanders we could discern, form'd to the Fancy regular Canals, rushing Torrents, headlong Cascades, and shining Mirrors; but to moderate our Satisfaction, and to take off from our too great and pre-

* These are large flat-bottom'd Boats, capable of carrying some Tons of Goods, and used in the Tobacco Countries to unlade Vessels with. They have also a Kind of Sloops, clumsily built, which may be called Tobacco Druggers, of 70 or 80 Tons Burden.

sumptuous Exultation, on the Larboard Shore lay the melancholy Wreck of a large Bristol Man, which had stranded in this Place some Years before. 'Tis impossible to describe the Tortures this Sight gave us, which indeed forc'd Tears from our Eyes, by Comparison with what we had been like to suffer ourselves.

We now examin'd our Cabin Associates, and found only the inanimate Remains of three of them. The others had some Signs of Life, and were convey'd on Shore by the Planters who visited us, and were their Neighbours. A thousand Times they lifted their Eyes up with Astonishment at our forlorn Condition. Our Negroes were our next Concern, and here only two were found alive, and such a Stench of Putrefaction in the Hold, as made it necessary to have Recourse to the usual Preservatives from infectious Smells. Ourselves now were to be consider'd, and as soon as the Relations of our Owner came down to the Sloop to take Charge of her, we embark'd in a Flat for Golden Quarter. And now, as if our Ability held out only so long as our Necessity subsisted, we soon felt the bitter Effects of our late Troubles: Frost-bitten from Head to Foot, and feverishly distracted from so long a Privation of downy Repose, we now were almost unable to move any Thing but our deploring Eyes; yet,—Misfortune on Misfortune!—our Barge ran-aground about a Mile from the Sloop, at low Water, Eleven o'Clock at Night, and we were forced to lie open and exposed till the ensuing Morning, she was loaden so deep; and then, with some Difficulty, we hove her off the Shelve: And this, in an extreme piercing Frost, finished our Disasters, and served almost to rob us entirely of the little Life remaining.

> Now we survey the land that owes its name
> To Charles's bride, . . .
> And soon we change, for all that sailors dread,
> The Spritely musick, and the sportful dance;
> Where jocund damsels, and their well pleas'd mates,
> Pass the delicious moments, void of care,
> And only study how to laugh and love,
> Contented, happy, under Calvert's sway.*

Reliev'd from this Distress, we pursu'd our little Voyage, of

* See Letter from a Son in a distant Part of the World, March 2, 1743, in *London Magazine*, July, 1744, p. 355.

about 14 Miles, thro' the several Creeks that convey you to Golden Quarter; and we were near 24 Hours before we arrived there, occasioned by our frequent Interruptions, or running upon the Marshes, or Oyster Banks, with which these Streams are prodigiously replete. On every Side you might discern the Settlements of the Planters, with their industrious Clearings, surrounded by the native Woods of the Country; whilst the distant Curlings of the aspiring Smoak, wantoning in the Breeze, direct your Eyes to the happy Places of their Residence, where they, generally bless'd with Innocence and Chearfulness, a compliant Consort, and a numerous Race at their Boards, enjoy a Life much to be envy'd by Courts and Cities. We gather'd a Fruit, in our Route, called a Parsimon, of a very delicious Taste, not unlike a Medlar, tho' somewhat larger: I take it to be a very cooling Fruit, and the Settlers make use of prodigious Quantities to sweeten a Beer, which they brew of Cassena and divers Herbs, which is vastly wholesome. The Cassena is a Shrub, that has a small Leaf, somewhat sharpish, and is so admired, when hot Water is poured on it, that I imagine the importing of it to England is prohibited for fear of injuring the Tea Trade. At our Arrival at our Host's, we were put to Bed, and for several Days attended with a Tenderness and Humanity that soon restored our Healths, and our Limbs to their proper Function; when, being furnished with Horses, we addressed ourselves to our first Stage, which was about 20 Miles distant from Golden Quarter, called Snow Hill. Golden Quarter is a kind of straggling County Village, but the Inhabitants of that Place and Senepuxon, tho' poorer than some of their Neighbours of Maryland, occasioned by the Poverty of their Soil, are a perfectly hospitable, sociable, and honest Set of People, and abound in every Necessary of Life, and most of the Conveniences. In short, they seem to repine only on three Accounts, as all this Side of the Colony does: The one is the Scarcity of strong Liquors; another the extravagant Dues to their Clergy, whom they pay a pretty large Quantity of Tobacco yearly to, by Way of Tithe, for every Head in their Families; and the third, is their paying a larger Quitrent, which I think they do in *Sterling* Money, than any of their Neighbours under the King's Governors. These Things the poorer Sort feel pretty smartly. To be sure, the Clergy ought to be supported in every Country, independently and decently; and certainly they are an Order of Men that are intirely necessary, whilst they

behave soberly and uprightly, to the Well-being of Society, and seem no where more so than in these Countries; but as I take it, there is little Justice in a poor Land holder's being obliged to give him as great an Offering as his opulent Neighbour. But here, as in every other Part of the World, the Complaints are very much regulated by the Pastor's Behaviour. You seldom hear any Grumbling, when he is a kind, beneficient, humane, and regular Man, that feels for, and endeavors to supply, both the mental Distresses and Wants, as well as the bodily ones, of the Charge intrusted to him; who never, from a Vanity of Temper, a sour Enthusiasm, or a vain Ostentation of Learning, puzzles and distracts his Hearers, by leading them astray from the plain Paths or Meanings of Christianity, into the eternal Labyrinths and intricate Mazes of Speculation and Mystery; nor sets himself up for an infallible Judge of every Dispute, and the authoritative Decider of every Question; nor, to sum up the whole, daubs and dresses Religion (as the Poet says) which is divinely pure, and simple from all Arts, like a common Mistress, the Object of his Fancy. The Rum they generally have from their Stores, is the New-England Sort, which has so confounded a Goût, and has so much of the Molasses Twang, that 'tis really nauseous; and this held up to a very large Price. Sometimes, indeed, an European Vessel lands, to the Gentlemen in the Neighborhood, a Cargo of another Sort; which, however, never diffuses itself much to those beneath them: In other better settled Parts of Maryland, indeed, as about Annapolis, and elsewhere, you hear of no Complaints of this Sort, as every Thing is in the greatest Plenty imaginable:So that what I am speaking of, relates principally to Worcester County and the Parts adjacent, where the Number of Merchants or Store-keepers is but small. You now and then meet with a Cup of good Cyder, in the Season, here, tho' of a thin fretting Kind. The Beer they brew is excellent, which they make in great Quantities, of Parsimons, &c. or Molasses; for few of them are come to malting their Corn, of any Kind, at which I was much surprized; as even the Indian Grain, as I have found experimentally, will produce an wholesome and generous Liquor. The meaner Sort you find little else but Water amongst, when their Cyder is spent. Mush * and Milk, or Molasses, Homine,† Wild Fowl, and Fish, are their principal

* Made of Indian Corn, or Rice, pounded.

† Indian Meal, pounded or ground with the Husks, and fry'd. Great Homine has Meat or Fowl in it.

Diet, whilst the Water presented to you, by one of the bare-footed Family, in a copious Calabash,‡ with an innocent Strain of good-Breeding and Heartiness, the Cake baking upon the Hearth, and the prodigious Cleanliness of every Thing around you, must needs put you in mind of the Golden Age, the Times of antient Frugality and Purity. All over the Colony, an universal Hospitality reigns; full Tables and open Doors, the kind Salute, and generous Detention, speak somewhat like the old roast-Beef Ages of our Forefathers, and would almost persuade one to think their Shades were wafted into these Regions, to enjoy, with greater extent, the Reward of their Virtues.§ Prodigious Numbers of Planters are immensely rich, and I think one of them, at this Time, numbers upon his Lands near 1000 Wretches, that tremble with submissive Awe at this Nod, besides white Servants: Their Pastures bless'd with increasing Flocks, whilst their Yards and Closes boast Hundreds of tame Poultry, of every Kind, and their Husbandry is rewarded with Crops equal to all their Ambition or Desires.

The Planters in Maryland have been so used by the Merchants, and so great a Property has been made of them in their Tobacco Contracts, that a new Face seems to be overspreading the Country; and, like their more Northern Neighbours, they in great Numbers have turned themselves to the raising of Grain and live Stock, of which they now begin to send great Quantities to the West-Indies. And 'tis the Blessing of this Country and Virginia, and fits it extremely for the Trade it carries on, that the Planters can deliver their Commodities at their own Back doors, as the whole Colony is inter-flow'd by the most noble navigable Rivers in the World. However, this good Property is attended with this ill Consequence, that being so well seated at home, they have no Ambition to fill a Metropolis, and associate together: They require no Bourses, or Meetings about Trade; a Letter will bargain for them, and the general Run of the Market determines the Price of the Commodity.

‡ The Shell of a Fruit so called. Some of them hold two Quarts.

§ What is said here is most strictly true, for their Manner of Living is quite generous and open: Strangers are sought after with Greediness as they pass the Country, to be invited. Their Breakfast Tables have generally the cold Remains of the former Day, hash'd or fricasseed; Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Venison-Pastry, Punch, and Beer, or Cyder, upon one Board: Their Dinner, good Beef, Veal, Mutton, Venison, Turkies and Geese, wild and tame, Fowls boil'd and roasted; and perhaps somewhat more, as Pies, Puddings, &c. for Desert: Suppers the same, with some small Addition, and a good hearty Cup to precede a Bed of Down: And this is the constant Life they lead, and to this Fare every Comer is welcome.

For this Reason, the Capitals, and other Towns in these two Colonies, are very slightly peopled, and very badly situated, and remarkable for little else than the Residence of the Governors, and the Meeting of the three Estates, Governor, Council, and Assembly. The principal Meetings of the Country are at their Court-Houses, as they call them; which are their Courts of Justice, and where as much idle Wrangling is on Foot, often, as in any Court in Westminster-Hall. The Lawyers have an excellent Time here, and if a Man is a clever Fellow, that Way, 'tis a sure Step to an Estate, 'Tis Necessity that has driven the Practitioners of the Law hither, from Europe, and other Parts of America, and I remember few that had not made it very well worth their While. Thus Innocence and Truth, white-rob'd Innocence and heavenly Truth, can seldom find a Retreat to dwell in. Distracted with their Adversaries barefaced Attempts, 'tis in vain they seek the most distant Skies: Pale-visag'd Guilt, and wily Fraud, still pursue their flow'ry Steps, determin'd to spare no Means to work their Unhappiness. Wherever you travel in Maryland (as also in Virginia and Carolina) your Ears are constantly astonished at the Number of Colonels, Majors, and Captains, that you hear mentioned: In short, the whole Country seems at first to you a Retreat of Heroes; but alas! to behold the Musters of their Militia, would induce a Man to nauseate a Sash, and hold a Sword, for ever, in Derision. Diversity of Weapons and Dresses, Unsizeableness of the Men, and Want of the least Grain of Discipline in their Officers or them, make the whole Scene little better than Dryden has expressed it: ————

> And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
> Mouths without hands, maintain'd at vast expence.
> In peace a charge, in war a weak defence:
> Stout, once a year, they march a blust'ring band,
> And ever, but in times of need, at hand;
> Of seeming arms, they make a short essay,
> Then hasten to get drunk, the bus'ness of the day.

Indeed, now, I fancy the Carthagening Regiment, by returning some of its Veterans, will give a better Face to these Matters.

Holding Land by the Tenure of defending it, seems to be as antient as Time itself; and certainly nothing can endanger a Country more, than an Army of Mercenaries, who perhaps are quite unconcerned in the publick Property, and have nothing to

fight for but their Pay. How necessary then is it, that the Militia in these Colonies should be well disciplined! since they have no regular Troops allow'd them, and cannot well maintain a considerable Body long themselves. Even at this Time they are alarm'd with an Indian Excursion, and Numbers are marched towards the Back of the Providence to defend the Out-Settlements. Their Government is much respected by them, and one may, on the Whole, say, they are an happy People. The Negroes live as easily as in any other Part of America, and at set Times have a pretty deal of Liberty in their Quarters,* as they are called. The Argument, of the Reasonableness and Legality, according to Nature, of the Slave-Trade, has been so well handled on the Negative Side of the Question, that there remains little for an Author to say on that Head; and that Captives taken in War, are the Property of the Captor, as to Life and Person, as was the Custom amongst the Spartans; who, like the Americans, perpetuated a Race of Slaves, by marrying them to one another, I think, has been fully disprov'd: But allowing some Justice in, or, at least, a great deal of Necessity for, making Slaves of this sable Part of the Species; surely, I think, Christianity, Gratitude, or, at least, good Policy, is concern'd in using them well, and in abridging them, instead of giving them Encouragement, of several brutal and scandalous Customs, that are too much practis'd: Such is the giving them a Number of Wives, or in short, setting them up for Stallions to a whole Neighbourhood, when it has been prov'd, I think, unexceptionably, that Polygamy rather destroys than multiplies the Species; of which we have also living Proofs under the Eastern Tyrants, and amongst the Natives of America; so that it can in no Manner answer the End; and were these Masters to calculate, they'd find a regular Procreation would make them greater Gainers. A sad Consequence of this Practice is, that their Childrens Morals are debauch'd by the Frequency of such Sights, as only fit them to become the Masters of Slaves. This is one bad Custom amongst many others; but as to their general Usage of them, 'tis monstrous and shocking. To be sure, a new Negro,*

* A Negro Quarter, is a Number of Huts or Hovels, built at some Distance from the Mansion-House; where the Negros reside with their Wives and Families, and cultivate at vacant Times, the little Spots allow'd them. They are, indeed, true Pictures of Slavery, which begets Indolence and Nastiness.

* A Negro just purchased from the Guinea-man. 'Tis really shocking to be present at a Mart of this Sort; where the Buyers handle them as the Butchers do

if he must be broke, either from Obstinacy, or, which I am more apt to suppose, from Greatness of Soul, will require more hard Discipline than a young Spaniel: You would really be surpriz'd at their Perseverance; let an hundred Men shew him how to hoe, or drive a Wheelbarrow, he'll still take the one by the Bottom, and the other by the Wheel; and they often die before they can be conquer'd. They are, no Doubt, very great Thieves, but this may flow from their unhappy, indigent Circumstances, and not from a natural Bent; and when they have robb'd, you may lash them Hours before they will confess the Fact; however, were they not to look upon every white Man as their Tormenter; were a slight Fault to be pardon'd now and then; were their Masters, and those adamantine-hearted Overseers, to exercise a little more Persuasion, Complacency, Tenderness and Humanity towards them, it might, perhaps, improve their Tempers to a greater Degree of Tractability. Such Masters, and such Overseers, Maryland may with Justice Boast; and Mr. Bull, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Carolina, is an Instance, amongst many, of the same, in that Province: But, on the contrary, I remember an Instance of a late Sea Officer, then resident in a neighbouring Colony, that for a mere Peccadillo, order'd his Slave to be ty'd up, and for an whole Hour diverted himself with the Wretch's Groans; struck at the mournful Sound, with a Friend, I hasted to the Noise, where the Brute was beginning a new Scene of Barbarity, and belabour'd the Creature so long with a large Cane, his Overseer being tir'd with the Cowskin,† that he remain'd without Sense and Motion. Happily he recover'd, but alas! remain'd a Spectacle of Horror to his Death; his Master deceas'd soon after, and, perhaps, may meet him, where the Wicked cease from troubling and the Weary be at rest: Where, as our immortal Pope sings,

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Beasts in Smithfield, to see if they are Proof in Cod, Flank, and Shoulders. And the Women, who have Plantations, I have been mighty busy in examining the Limbs, Size, and Abilities of their intended Purchases. I do not speak this of Maryland; for I never saw a Lady at Market there, but have elsewhere in America.

† A cowskin is so called, from being a large Thong from the Hide of that Animal, twisted into the Shape of a Swish Horse-Whip, and as hard as a Bull's Pizzle. The Common Method is to tie them up by the Hands to the Branch of a Tree, so that their Toes can hardly touch the Ground; but in the West-Indies, they are so habituated to ill Usage, and their Spirits so sunk, that the Overseer need only bid them cast up their Arms over their Heads, which the poor Creatures readily do, and then the Torturer taking a Run to him, Lashes him; and this Discipline is repeated sometimes forty Times: Hardly a Negro but bears the Marks of Punishment in large Scars on his Back and Sides.

No fiends torment, no christians thirst for gold.

Another, upon the same Spot, when a Girl had been lash'd till she confess'd a Robbery, in mere Wantonness continu'd the Persecution, repeating every now and then these christianlike, and sensible Expressions in the Ragings of his Fury, " G-d d-mn you, when you go to Hell, I wish G-d would d-mn me, that I might follow you with the Cowskin there."

Slavery, thou worst and greatest of Evils! sometimes thou appearest to my affrighted Imagination, sweating in the Mines of Potosi, and wiping the hard-bound Tears from thy exhausted Eyes; sometimes I view thy sable Livery under the Torture of the Whip, inflicted by the Hands, the remorseless Hands of an American Planter: At other Times, I view thee in the Semblance of a Wretch trod upon by ermin'd or turban'd Tyrants, and with poignant, heartbreaking Sighs, dragging after thee a toilsome Length of Chain, or bearing African Burdens. Anon I am somewhat comforted, to see thee attempt to smile under the Grand Monarque; but, on the other Side of the Alpes, thou again resum'st thy Tears, and what, and how great are thy Iberian Miseries! In Britain ,and Britain only, thy Name is not heard; thou has assum'd a new Form, and the heaviest Labours are lightsome under those mild Skies!

Oh Liberty, do thou inspire our breasts!
And make our lives, in thy possession happy;
Or our deaths glorious, in thy just defence.

ADDISON.

The Convicts that are transported here, sometimes prove very worthy Creatures, and entirely forsake their former Follies; but the Trade has for some Time run in another Channel; and so many Volunteer Servants come over, especially Irish, that the other is a Commodity pretty much blown upon. Several of the best Planters, or their Ancestors, have in the two Colonies, been originally of the Convict-Class, and therefore, are much to be prais'd and esteem'd for forsaking their old Courses: And Heaven itself, we are told, rejoices more over one Sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine that never went astray. They tell many Stories of some of these People in these Colonies, one of which I commit to Writing, as I had it from the very Person himself, who is the chief in the Story.

Above 60 Years ago, Capt. ————, Master of ————, walking thro' Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, beheld a very pretty Child, about six Years of Age, bewailing himself for the Loss of his Father, whom he had some how or other stray'd from: He sooth'd the Child, persuaded him to dry his Tears, and told him he had Orders from his Father, who was just set out for the Country, to bring him to him. The innocent Victim, without Thought of Harm, follow'd his Deliverer, as he thought him, who carry'd him in the Stage Coach to Bristol, and there immediately put him on board his Vessel, which sail'd a Fortnight after for this Part of the World. Still fed up with Hopes of seeing his Father, and that he was going but a small Trip by Water, where he was, and indulg'd by the Captain in all he desir'd, the Time slipt away, till the Brute made appear, by the vilest Actions, his accurs'd design: The Lad suffer'd much, but his Innocence render'd him incapable to judge of the Propriety of such Actions, and he was acquiescent. When he arriv'd at the End of his Voyage, being very ill, he sold him to a Planter for 14 Years, for 12 Guineas. The Planter, a Man of great Humanity, taking a Fancy to the Child, heard his simple Tale, and perceiv'd the Villany, but not till the Vessel had sail'd. He enquir'd his Name, and just so much he could tell him, and sent over to advertise him in the publick Papers; but before this Design could be compleated, near two Years elaps'd, from his first being kidnapp'd, when, probably, his Father and Mother were both dead, and, perhaps, the Cause of their Death, this Accident. In short, his Master lik'd the Youth more and more, who was sober and diligent, and marry'd him to an only Daughter, leaving him at his Decease his whole Substance. Thirty Years elaps'd, and tho' under great Pain for his Ignorance of his Parents, yet happy in his Family and Affairs, he liv'd with great Content; when a Ship with Convicts coming in, he went to purchase some Servants, and the Idea of his barbarous Captain was so impress'd in his Mind, that he knew him at first Sight, and bought him eagerly; it appearing, afterwards, a notorious Crime had brought him into these Circumstances, and entirely ruin'd him. As soon as he brought him home, he carry'd him into a private Room, and lock'd himself in with him, but what Words could express the Wretch's Confusion and Astonishment, when he understood whose Hands he had fallen into! for he had no Notion before of the Gentleman's being the

same, that, when a Lad, he had us'd so vilely. Struck with Remorse, and the Fear of Punishment, he fell on his Kness and begg'd Forgiveness. 'Twas in vain, he was interrogated about his Master's Parents; he knew as little of them as himself; the Master inrag'd, order'd him to be lock'd into an upper Room, resolving to keep him to the hard Service he deserv'd the Remainder of his Life; but the next Morning he was found stabb'd to the Heart, with a Knife that had been uncautiously left in the Room; and so despairingly finish'd a wretched Life. The Gentleman is now near 70, and very hearty and well.

And now let me address me to my Journey, which lay in a very pleasant Road, thro' the Woods, that every now and then presented you with an opening Plantation: We met an Indian Man and Woman upon this Road, who came from a Town of Whigwhams, near Snow-Hill, where they inhabit, in great Peace, with their Neighbours. We pass'd several Branches * and Savannahs, and the Road all the Way is pretty much upon the Level, and marshy; the Soil of the upper Grounds a loose reddish Sand or Earth. At our Arrival at Snow-Hill, I took up Quarters at an Ordinary,† and found them very good. The Parson of the Parish, who has the only Brick-House in Town, was a good conversible Man, as was also the Presbyterian Minister, a Scotchman, of which Nation great Numbers are settled hereabouts. The Church and all the Houses are built of Wood, but some of them have Brick Stacks of Chimneys: Some have their Foundations in the Ground, others are built on Puncheons or Logs, a Foot or two from the Earth, which is more airy, and a Defence against the Vermin. The Women here are very pretty, and the Men, for the generality, obliging enough. The Town is very irregular, and has much the Aspect of a Country Fair, the Generality of the Houses differing very little from Booths. We staid here only one Day, and the next set forward with hired Horses, not being able to buy any in the Town. The Hire was a shilling Sterling per Day for each Horse, and a Shilling per Day for a Guide. They are good serviceable little Creatures ‡ and travel at a great Rate. The next Night we

* A Branch is a Stream running across the Road, from some neighbouring Creek or River.

† Or Tavern, Eating-house, or Inn.

‡ And live most prodigiously hard. At Night, you need only tether them out, and they pick Subsistence enough in their Station: I have known them go six Days Journey without a Feed or Corn; having nothing but the Stalks of Indian Wheat, and such other Litter as they could pick up.

got to the Line that divides Maryland from Virginia being about 30 Miles, thro' a Road whose delightful Scenes constantly refresh'd the Senses with new and beauteous Objects. And here I can't help quoting Mr. Lewis, when speaking of another Road in this Colony, he says;

> But now the enclos'd plantation I forsake,
> And onwards thro' the woods my journey take;
> The level road the longsome way beguiles,
> A blooming wilderness around me smiles
> Here hardy oak, there fragrant hick'ry grows,
> ———————— *
>
> Here stately pines unite their whisp'ring heads,
> And with a solemn gloom embrown the shades.
> See there a green savanna opens wide,
> Thro' which smooth streams in wanton mazes glide;
> Thick branching shrubs o'erhang the silver streams,
> Which scarcely deign t' admit the solar beams.

And, indeed, I can't help, every now and then, taking him out of my Pocket in this Country; for his descriptive Part is just and fine, and such a Warmth of Sentiment, such a delicate Vein of Poetry, such an unaffected Piety runs thro' the Whole, that I esteem it one of the best Pieces extant. This, with my other dearer Treasure,† and my Euclid, generally relieves me from a too great Sameness of Prospect, or Frequency of the same Objects. Here, having brought several Bottles of Wine for the Purpose, we drank Success to Britain, his Majesty's Health, and that of the Right Honourable Proprietor, whose great and good Qualities have endear'd him much to the People of this Colony.

There certainly can't be a greater Grievance to a Traveller, from one Colony to another, than the different Values their Paper Money bears; for if he is not studious to get rid of the Money of one Place before he arrives at another, he is sure to be a considerable Loser. The New England Money, for Instance, which is

* Their bursting buds the tender leaves disclose;
The tender leaves in downy robes appear,
Trembling, they seem to move with cautious fear,
Yet new to life, and strangers to the air.

We suppose the Author supress'd these Lines, in the same Description, because the Season of the Year was different when he was there. The whole poem is in our *Magazine* for April 1733, p. 204-207. It was first publish'd in a Paper call'd the *Weekly Register,* since deceas'd.

† Letter to a Son, sign'd Sophronius, in your *Mag.* for July 1744, p. 343. ANONYMUS

excessively bad, and where, to pay a Six-pence or Three-pence, they tear a Shilling Bill to Pieces, is much beneath the New-York Money in Value, and will hardly be got off there without some Person is going into the first nam'd Province. New-York and Pensilvania often differ about the Dignity of their Bills, and they fall and rise in the different Circulations they take. The Maryland Money is generally pretty good, but of a low Value, and this, again, is not taken on the Western Shore of Chesapeak, where only Gold and Silver is current: North Carolina is still lower than Maryland, and South Carolina worst of all; for their Money there is so low as seven for one Sterling, so that it makes a prodigious Sound; and not only so, but even private Traders there coin Money, if I may use the Expression, and give out small printed, or written circulating Notes, from Six-pence to a Pound, and upwards; in which they are, no Doubt, considerable Gainers, not only by the Currency of so much ready Money, without much Expence in making it, but also by Loss, wearing out, or other Accidents. In Georgia, again, this Money never passes, for all their Bills are of Sterling Value, and will pass all over America as well as Bank Notes. There are, I find, some considerable Gains, and Stockjobbing in America, by the issuing out, and calling in, their new and old Bills, which I shall not think proper to touch upon.

There are very considerable Numbers of Roman Catholicks in Maryland, particularly about the Borders of Pensilvania; but the Bulk of the Colony is of the Episcopal Persuasion, with a grand Mixture of divers other Sects. The Woman are very handsome in general, and most notable Housewives; every Thing wears the Marks of Cleanliness and Industry in their Houses; and their Behaviour to their Husbands and Families is very edifying. You can't help observing, however, an Air of Reserve, and somewhat that looks at first, to a Stranger, like Unsociableness, which is barely the Effect of living at a great Distance from frequent Society, and their thorough Attention to the Duties of their Stations. Their Amusements are quite innocent, and within the Circle of a Plantation or two, they exercise all the Virtues that can raise one's Opinion of the too light Sex. I would premise here, that I am not writing any Thing yet of the more refin'd Part of the Colony, but what I say now is confin'd to a Tract of about 200 Miles; for in some other Parts you'll find many

Coquettes and Prudes, as well as in other Places; nor, perhaps, may the Lap-Dog or Monkey be forgotten. Hail delightful Sex! would you divest yourselves of but some few Foibles; would you attend somewhat more to the Knowledge of yourselves, and turn your Eyes inwards; had not the rolling Chariot, the shining Ring, the Indian Exoticks, the Frenchify'd Affectation, the gay Coxcomb, more Charms than Knowledge, Decency, Prudence, Discretion and Merit, how happy would you be! But to roll on in a continued Round of senseless Impertinence, will never, never, raise you to the Character or Situation of these American Wives. My God! what a different View has the Representation! the one a Piece where every Figure on the Canvas glows with native Ease, Grace and Proportion; no artful Heightnings, no absurd Conceit, has debas'd the great Designer, Nature: On the contrary, turn your Eyes this Way; what Figures are these? From what distant Clime were they imported? From the Region of sickly Whim, and the Designer sure, like Rabelais, was resolv'd to paint some Beings that were too odd to exist any where else: What a Load of Ornaments, and a Glare of Colours that quite hurt the Eyes in looking on the Piece! nor is there one truly smiling Stroke, one Grace, nor one Beauty in the whole Delineation.

> What's female beauty, but an air divine,
> Thro' which the soul's unfading lustres shine?
> She, like a sun, irradiates all between;
> The body charms, because the mind is seen.
>
> INCERT. AUCT.

I should busy myself more in the descriptive Part of my Journal whilst in this Colony, did I not reserve myself, till my Arrival in Virginia; for there is such a Connection between the Trade and Nature of the Soil, and the Commodities they raise and export, that one general Account will serve for both: Nor do the two Countries apear much of a different Form; for in the Uplands of Maryland, they are as mountainous, and abound in Valleys as much as they do in Virginia. For this Reason, I wave those Matters till I arrive there, and insist so much on the Manners and Tempers of the Inhabitants and the Genius of this Country.

They have some considerable Seminaries of Learning in the two Colonies; but Williamsburgh College in Virginia is the Resort of all the Children, whose Parents can afford it; and there they

live in an academical Manner; and, really, the Masters were Men of Knowledge and Discretion at this Time; tho' it can't yet vie with those excellent Universities, for I must call them so, of the Massachusetts; for the Youth of these more indulgent Settlements, partake pretty much of the *Petit Maitre* Kind, and are pamper'd much more in Softness and Ease than their Neighbours more Northward. Those that can't afford to send their Children to the better Schools, send them to the Country School-Masters, who are generally Servants, who, after serving their Terms out, set up for themselves, and pick up a Livelihood by that, and writing Letters, and keeping Books for their illiterate Neighbours. Often a clever Servant or Convict, that can write and read tolerably, and is of no handicraft Business, is indented to some Planter, who has a Number of Children, as a School-Master, and then, to be sure, he is a tip-top Man in his Parts, and the Servant is us'd more indulgently than the generality of them.

As I said before, the young Fellows are not much burden'd with Study, nor are their Manners vastly polite: But the old Gentlemen are generally a most agreeable Set of Companions, and possess a pretty deal of improving Knowledge; nay, I know some of the better Sort, whose Share of Learning and Reading, would really surprize you, considering their Educations; but this, to be sure, must be an after Improvement. One Thing they are very faulty in, with regard to their Children, which is, that when young, they suffer them too much to prowl amongst the young Negros, which insensibly causes them to imbibe their Manners and broken Speech. The Girls, under such good Mothers, generally have twice the Sense and Discretion of the Boys; their Dress is neat and clean, and not much bordering upon the ridiculous Humour of their Mother Country, where the Daughters seem dressed up for a Market.

'Tis an odd Sight, that except some of the very elevated Sort, few Persons wear Perukes, so that you would imagine they were all sick, or going to Bed: Common People wear Woollen and Yarn Caps; but the better ones wear white Holland, or Cotton: Thus they travel fifty Miles from Home. It may be cooler, for ought I know; but, methinks, 'tis very ridiculous.

They are all great Horsemen, and have so much Value for the Saddle, that rather than walk to Church five Miles, they'll go eight to catch their Horses, and ride there; so that you would

think their Churches look'd like the Out-Skirts of a Country Horse Fair; but then, as some Excuse, it may be said, that their Churches are often very distant from their Habitations.

An universal Mirth and Glee reigns in Maryland, amongst all Ranks of People, and at set Times, nothing but Jollity and Feasting goes forward: Musick and Dancing are the everlasting Delights of the Lads and Lasses, and some very odd Customs they have at these Merry-makings: You would think all Care was then thrown aside, and that every Misfortune was buried in Oblivion. In short, my Spirits have been sometimes raised so much, that I have almost forgotten I was of another Clime, and have wish'd myself for ever amongst them. Adieu! happy People! For the Favours I have reaped at your Hands, Gratitude shall ever fill my Breast: I leave you but to return again *; once more to partake of your Halcyon Feasts, and hearty jovial Mirth.

> For now, with glad'ned eyes, we view the bounds
> Of that fam'd colony, from whence the weed,
> The salutiferous plant, that sends the breast
> From noxious vapours of th' inclement morn,
> Provocative to solid, studious tho't,
> Derives its birth and use; the land that erst
> Employ'd the labours of our virgin queen,
> And still is sacred to Eliza's fame.†

* The Author was again in Maryland for some Time, and many of the detach'd observations were made then, though he chose to interweave them with this short Tour.

† See the motto.

A LAST GLIMPSE OF MENCKEN

By Douglas Gordon

At a dinner party in 1931 at the house of the late Dr. Raymond Pearl, the noted Hopkins bio-statistician, I first met my host's close friend, Henry Mencken. He was then fifty, and strikingly youthful in his ways, with marvelous gusto in eating, drinking and talking.

Mencken had been the object of my youthful hero-worship. I had read most of his books, and looked forward keenly every week to his Monday article in the Baltimore *Evening Sun.* After the appearance of his *Newspaper Days,* I asked him whether it would be possible again to have in Baltimore a crusading paper like the old Baltimore *News,* which modernized the City and suppressed political corruption. I chided him, too, for his rather critical attitude toward Charlie Grasty, the celebrated editor of the *News.* He said he believed that a paper which appealed to people's thoughfulness and pride in their city would be a total failure at the present time. But, subsequently, he did write less harshly of Grasty. He could never quite forgive him for having run the *News* so successfully that Mencken's own paper, the *Herald,* where at a tender age he occupied a conspicuous position, could not stand the competition, and ceased publication after the Baltimore Fire.

About fifteen years later, Joseph Hergesheimer spoke to my law club on the subject of " Love." The speaker and the members had applied themselves so lustily to the excellent foods and wines which preceded the lecture, that they have a rather faint memory of the amorous discourse, except as being somewhat precious, not to say academic. After it ended, Mencken dropped in to see his old friend. He entered the room, looking the picture of health, and spoke to this effect: " Fellows, I should not be here this evening. I have left a sick bed against the orders of my doctor. No doubt, I shall suffer severely for this disobedience." What a change these gloomy words indicated from the boisterous Mencken of 1931!

Some of the old Mencken seemed nevertheless to have survived his later and truly serious illness, for when, on leaving the hospital after recovering from a severe stroke, he passed the Y.M.C.A., a scene some years before of the scandalous misbehavior of an ardent reformer and eloquent prophet of Prohibition, he tipped his hat with all solemnity at the spot which revived memories, ever delightful to him, of the oft-repeated scandal. Later, I sent him from an English book catalogue, a notice of a book by one Menckenius, entitled, *La Charlatannerie des Savants.* This attack on the pseudo-learned, paralleling some of Mencken's own activity, and evidently by a relation if not an actual ancestor, I thought would amuse him. What was my horror when I received word from his faithful stenographer, Miss Rosalind Lohrfinck, that he could neither see nor hear.

A year or two later word got 'round that Mencken's condition had greatly improved. He was even quoted as praising a picture book by one of his friends, the photographer Aubrey Bodine. This certainly, in the case of a highly conscientious reviewer, presupposed that his sight had been restored. Accordingly, when I met André Siegfried in New York on December 8, 1955, after a lecture he gave at the French Institute, my first thought was that Mr. Siegfried might wish to see Mencken again. Upon returning to Baltimore, I wrote Mencken, and was told by Miss Lohrfinck that he would be delighted to receive Mr. Siegfried, his health permitting. Mr. Siegfried then agreed to repeat in Baltimore the lecture given in New York, and said he would arrive in ample time to visit Mencken at 1524 Hollins Street.

Mr. and Mrs. Siegfried and I arrived at the Mencken home at three o'clock on the afternoon of January 12. Before ringing the door bell, we agreed that any one of the three who saw any sign of fatigue would immediately stand up, thus giving the signal to the others to depart simultaneously from the sickroom where we expected to be received.

We were met at the door by Mencken's devoted brother, August. In the characteristic Baltimore " middle room," a dimly lit sitting room with a fire-place, we found Mencken himself walking about, apparently hale and hearty. His complexion was ruddy, and he offered us cigars, saying that he smoked them himself. Our impression of his seemingly excellent health was, after our first greetings, not too seriously altered by his asserting in an eager

and, indeed, somewhat argumentative voice, " Well, there is no use making any bones about it, I am as good as dead. I can't read, I can't work, and the sooner it is all over the better."

The Siegfrieds tactfully broke this train of thought by general conversation, which somehow came around to the question of Mr. Siegfried's age. When Mencken at 75 heard that his guest was 80, and in addition to his regular activities of lecturing at the École des Sciences Politiques, writing for *Le Figaro,* and turning out a book a year on sociology, had also during the Fall given a course of lectures at Harvard and spent the Christmas vacation flying through the West and lecturing, had that very day been a guest of honor at a luncheon at the French Embassy, was to attend a formal dinner and deliver another lecture that evening, in some interval visit cousins in Baltimore, and then return to Washington, he seemed somewhat startled, and said, " I'll be damned. I thought you were one of the young fellows. I never knew you were eighty." He then once more took up his principal theme, " But it is all over with me, and the sooner the end comes the better."

Again the Siegfrieds attempted to divert him from the gloomy thought he appeared to cherish, and asked him about Daniel Coit Gilman, the illustrious first president of the Johns Hopkins University. " President Gilman," Mencken replied somewhat pontifically, " was a very outstanding educator. His emphasis on original work by candidates for the degree of Ph. D. was followed throughout America. He was a fine man; but,"—and here his voice dropped in apparent sadness—, " he was pious; yes, he was pious."

Mr. Siegfried, among other questions, asked how Maryland divided in the Civil War. August Mencken replied that the tidewater part of the state had had slavery, but that slavery was nonexistent in mountainous regions, so that in Western Maryland, and like hill-country, it was virtually unknown. Such a generalization was most pleasing to Mr. Siegfried who, a quarter of a century before, had in similar vein pointed out in *America Comes of Age,* that the only states supporting the Farmer-Labor Movement in the 1928 election were those having less than ten inches of rainfall. Their necessarily impoverished farmers tended to believe the claptrap of the politicians incapable of getting the vote of the more prosperous and more intelligent cultivators of well rained-on soil. But at this point Mencken again referred to his astonishment

at Mr. Siegfried's age, and interrupted the discussion with an explosive, "I'll be damned, I didn't know you were eighty years old," as if his basic theories were much upset by seeing such an energetic octogenarian.

Then Mencken held forth about a box of memoranda on personalities he had known, which had been rescued by Miss Lohrfinck just as it was about to be sent to the Pratt Library with his other papers. These reflections, he said, being no longer libelous, since their subjects were long since dead, would shortly be published under the title, *Minority Report.* Inspired by this knowledge, Mr. Siegfried started inquiring about other characters Mencken had known. This time he asked about President Gilman's family. Mencken explained that President Gilman had two daughters, one of whom married and left Baltimore, while the other, Miss Lizzie Gilman, remained there. In reply to questions about her, he said, "Miss Lizzie Gilman was a very splendid woman, very charitable, loving to help those who were unfortunate, but,"—and here again his voice fell with seeming sorrow, and his head shook sadly,—" she was pious, she was pious." He quickly roused himself, however, by returning to his main hypochondriac obsession.

At this point an indication that he was becoming tired caused all of his guests to rise simultaneously. When we moved forward to shake hands with him, he fairly shouted in an almost bellicose tone, "What's the use of talking with me; I am all through, and the sooner it is over the better."

As we walked down the stairs, I said to Mr. Siegfried, "Wasn't Mencken the main influence upon you when you wrote, *America Comes of Age?* He replied, "No, the greatest influence upon me at that time was Sinclair Lewis." "Well," I argued, "that is really saying the same thing, for the whole school of writers to which Lewis belonged was largely formed by Mencken and unceasingly repeated Menckenian ideas."

MINIATURES IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A Supplement to the Hand List by Anna Wells Rutledge
Published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,*
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Including Those Acquired 1945 to 1956

Compiled by Eugenia Calvert Holland and Louisa Macgill Gary

Unless otherwise noted, all miniatures are oval and on ivory; R. represents rectangular; D. diameter, indicating the item is circular. Measurements are given in inches.

Mrs. Washington Berry (Eliza Thomas Williams) (1808-1864)
Daughter of Thomas Owen Williams, Jr. (1776-1810) of "Seat Pleasant," Prince George's County, and his wife Elizabeth Thomas (1782-1802), daughter of Hon. James Thomas (1747-1810) of Talbot County. Married 1882 Washington Berry of "Metropolis View," Prince George's County, overlooking the City of Washington. Great grandmother of donor.
Unattributed American, 1822. $2\frac{1}{2}$ x 2
Gift of Mrs. A. M. Holmes. 49.85.1

Mrs. Alexander L. Boggs (Susan Greer) (1797-1884)
Daughter of John Greer and his wife, Susan Bayly of York, Pennsylvania. Wife of Alexander Lowry Boggs (1792-1856), Baltimore merchant. Great grandmother of donor.
Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$
Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.3

Laetitia Bonaparte ("Madame Mère") (1750-1836) (?)
Mother of Napoleon I.
By Jean Baptiste Isabey. Signed: *J. Isabey/An 5:* [1796 or 1797] D. $3\frac{1}{4}$
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.4

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)
Emperor of the French.
By Jean Baptiste Isabey. Signed: *Isabey 1806.* 2¼ x 1⅜
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.3

JOHN BEALE BORDLEY, IV (1800-1882)
Portrait painter. Son of Matthias Bordley, prominent planter of Wye Island, Queen Anne's County, and his wife, Susan Gardner Heath, daughter of Daniel Charles Heath and Mary Key. His paternal grandfather was the distinguished Maryland jurist and agriculturalist, John Beale Bordley (1727-1804). The artist married twice; his first wife was Jane Sophia Singleton, the second, Frances Paca Baker. Grandfather of the donor.
By Richard M. Staigg. Signed: *R. M. S.* 1½ x 1 1/16
Gift of Mr. John Beale Bordley, VI. 54.48.1

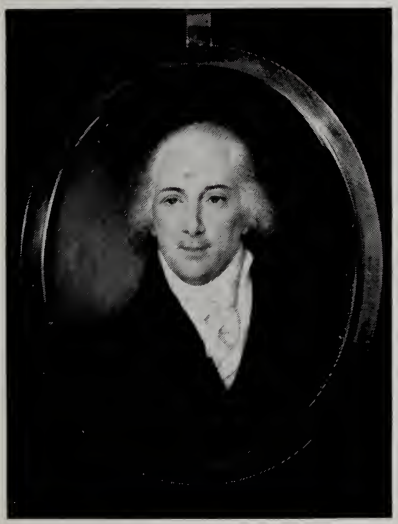
MRS. JOHN BEALE BORDLEY (Frances Paca Baker)
Second wife of the artist, married in 1829. There were two daughters, Elizabeth Paca Bordley (b. 1831), wife of George Coulter; and Frances Beale Bordley (b. 1833), wife of Richard Wilton. The daughters were half sisters of John Beale Bordley, Jr. (V) son of Jane Sophia Singleton, daughter of John Singleton of Talbot County and first wife of the artist John Beale Bordley, IV. Step-grandmother of donor.
By John Beale Bordley. 2⅜ x 2
Gift of Mr. John Beale Bordley, VI. 54.48.2

GEORGE WASHINGTON BOWEN (ca. 1817-1886)
Native of Gettysburg, Pa. A proof-reader in the Government Printing Office in Washington, the subject was father-in-law of the donor.
Unattributed American. On ivory and paper. 2 x 1½
Gift of Mr. J. Clinton Perrine. 55.86.1

MRS. ROGER BOYCE (Hannah Maria Day) (1780-1854)
Daughter of John Day, of Harford County, and his wife Sarah McCaskey. She was married in 1797 to Roger Boyce of Baltimore County. Their daughter, Jane Boyce, married George W. Peter of "Tudor Place," Georgetown, D. C. Grandmother of donor.
By Anna Claypoole Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale 1818.* 2¾ x 2¼
From estate of Miss Ella Mackubin. 56.62.12

JOHN SINGLETON
By Charles Willson Peale
(slightly enlarged)

MRS. ROGER BOYCE
By Anna C. Peale
(slightly reduced)



BENJAMIN HARWOOD
By James Peale
(slightly reduced)

SAMUEL COLLINS
By Silas Dewey
(slightly reduced)

ROBERT COLEMAN BRIEN (1806-1833)
Of Baltimore and Catoctin, Frederick County. Married 1825 by Archbishop Maréchal to Ann Elizabeth Tiernan.
By Anna Claypoole Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale 1827.* R. 3 x 2½
Deposited by Mrs. John W. Avirett.

MRS. ROBERT COLEMAN BRIEN (Ann Elizabeth Tiernan) (1798-?)
Daughter of Luke Tiernan (1757-1839), native of Ireland who came to the United States ca. 1783 and settled in Hagerstown, later in Baltimore. A wealthy commission merchant, he occupied many positions of dignity, civic and political.
By Anna Claypoole Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale 1825.* R. 3 x 2½
Deposited by Mrs. John W. Avirett.

JOHN BROWN (1793-1876)
Of "Ripley," Queen Anne's County; eldest son of Col. James Brown (1764-1822) and his wife Hannah Hackett. Graduate of Dickinson College; married 1820 Eliza Grey Bonsall (1799-1859). Their daughter, Emma, married the Rev. George Clement Stokes (1824-1904), rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Baltimore. Subject was great grandfather of donor.
By George Munger, 1815. Water color on paper, R. 4⅜ x 3½
Gift of Miss Emma L. Stokes. 51.53.1

ADMIRAL FRANKLIN BUCHANAN (1800-1874)
Distinguished officer of the U. S. Navy and Confederate States Navy. Founder and first superintendent of the U. S. Naval Academy. Son of Dr. George Buchanan of Baltimore and his wife Letitia McKean. He married in 1834 Ann Catherine Lloyd of "Wye House," daughter of Governor Edward Lloyd (1779-1834).
Attributed to Joseph Wood, ca. 1825. 3 x 2½
Gift of estate of Kennedy R. Owen. 55.83.1

CAPTAIN JAMES RORKE CALLENDER (ca. 1780-1811)
Son of Thomas Callender and his wife Margaret Rorke, of Delaware. He married in 1808 Martha Browne Ogle. Captain Callender was lost at sea in 1811, and his wife married secondly General Thomas Marsh Forman.
Unattributed American. R. 2¼ x 1¾
Gift of Miss Mary Forman Day. 45.94.3

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON (1737-1832)

Statesman, planter, last surviving Signer of the Declaration of Independence; delegate to the Maryland Revolutionary Convention, 1775: member of the Continental Congress, 1776 and 1778; commissioner to Canada, 1776; United States Senator, 1789-1792.

By Anson Dickinson. Signed: *A Dickinson/1824.* R. 3¼ x 2 9/16

Gift of Mrs. William E. Bleck. 54.76.1

SAMUEL CHANCELLOR, See CAPT. DAVID CUSHING

CHARLES I OF ENGLAND (1600-1649)

Second son of James I and Anne of Denmark. Signed, in 1632, the Charter of Maryland, granting to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore and his heirs, the province of Maryland named in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. The King was executed Jan. 30, 1649 [Old style 1648].

A memorial ring, under a mounted "jewel"; an enamel portrait of the King and the following inscription: *Jan. 30/ 1.6.4.8./C. R./Martyr/Populy.*

Unattributed European. D. 7/8

Gift of Miss Clara Goldsborough Hollyday. 45.61.1

SAMUEL COLLINS (d. 1814)

Son of Rev. John Collins and his wife Margaret Kerr of Dorchester County.

By Silas Dewey, ca. 1810. Wash drawing on paper. Signed: *Dewey, Pt.* R. 3½ x 2½

Gift of estate of Miss Lindsay T. Waters. 54.35.1

WILLIAM COALE (1780-1805)

Son of Dr. Samuel Stringer Coale and his wife Anne Hopkinson Coale. Died of yellow fever in West Indies. Copy by Mary B. Redwood after James House.

Oil on composition board. 5¾ x 4⅞

Gift of Mrs. Francis T. Redwood. xx.4.227

JACOB I. COHEN (1744-1823)

Native of Oberdorf, Bavaria, Germany, the son of Joshua and Peslah Cohen. Immigrated to the United States in 1773; an officer of the Revolution; identified with commercial interests in Charleston, S. C., Richmond, Va., and Philadelphia, Pa. Married, first, Elizabeth Whitlock Mordecai (1744-1804);

secondly, Rachel Jacobs (d. 1821). Great great uncle of donor.

Unattributed European. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$

Gift of Miss Harriet Cohen Coale. 47.22.3

CAPTAIN DAVID CUSHING (1754-1827) or SAMUEL CHANCELLOR (1760-1844)

Identification uncertain; not stated by donor.

Unattributed. Inscribed on back: *Mess^rs Horne/and/As No 64 St. James St./Nov. 7, 1801/Paine Mounter.* $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$

Bequest of Miss Josephine Cushing Morris. 56.50.8

MRS. THOMAS W. DAVIS (Phoebe Shotwell Townsend) (1807-?)

Daughter of Joseph Townsend of New York.

Unattributed American. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$

Gift of the Misses Corner. 45.75.1

ELLEN CHANNING DAY (Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte) (1852-1924)

At age of 2½ years. Daughter of Thomas Mills Day and his wife, Anna Jones Dunn, of Hartford, Conn. She married in 1875 Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1851-1921), Baltimore lawyer, Secretary of the Navy and Attorney-General of the United States, son of Jerome Bonaparte and his wife, Susan May Williams, and grandson of Jerome (youngest brother of the Emperor Napoleon), King of Westphalia, who married first in 1803 Elizabeth Patterson, daughter of William Patterson, Baltimore merchant.

Unattributed. Copy from photograph; made in Paris. Porcelain. D. $1\frac{1}{4}$

Gift of Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte. xx.5.68

MRS. GRAFTON DUVALL (Elizabeth W. Hawkins) (1785-1831)

Youngest daughter of Thomas Hawkins of "Merryland Tract," Frederick County. Married 1804 Dr. Duvall (1780-1841), a member of the Maryland Council.

Unattributed. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$

Gift of Mrs. Addison F. Worthington. 49.4.4

MRS. OLIVER TARBELL EDDY (Maria Burger) (1800-1877)

Native of Eaton's Neck, Long Island. Daughter of a silversmith, possibly Thomas Burger in Newburgh, N. Y., 1822; wife of the artist Oliver T. Eddy (1799-1868).

By Oliver Tarbell Eddy. Paper, R. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

Purchase. 51.113.1

Mrs. Smith Falconer (Nancy Poultney) (d. 1922)
Daughter of Samuel Poultney and his wife Ellen Curzon.
By Richard C. Poultney. 4¼ x 3½
Gift of Mrs. D. C. Wharton Smith and Miss Rebecca D. Poultney, 50.35.1

Thomas Marsh Forman (1758-1845)
Of "Rose Hill," Cecil County; eldest son of Ezekiel Forman (1735-1795), high sheriff of Kent County and his wife, Augustina Marsh. Married first, Mary Clay, widow of Peter Porter of Delaware; secondly Martha Brown Ogle, widow of Capt. James Rorke Callender. Forman was an officer in American Revolution; a member of the Maryland Assembly; a noted breeder of blooded horses and President of the Maryland Jockey Club.
By William Groombridge. Signed: *Groombridge/April/1794/Philadelphia.* 2½ x 2
Gift of Miss Mary Forman Day. 45.94.1

Mrs. James Gibson (Elizabeth Bordley) (1777-1863)
Daughter of John Beale Bordley the elder, of Wye Island and Philadelphia, and his second wife, Sarah (Fishbourne) Mifflin. Close friend of Nelly Custis, daughter of John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor Calvert of Mount Airy, Prince George's County, Maryland. (see No. 55.48.2)
By John Henry Brown. Signed: *J. H. Brown 1861.*
Simulated oval on rectangle of ivory. 3¼ x 2 11/16
Gift of Dr. James Bordley, Jr. 55.48.1

William Fell Giles, Jr. (1835-1891)
Son of Judge William Fell Giles, of Harford County and Baltimore, and his first wife, Sarah Wilson (1809-1845), daughter of John and Isabella Wilson. Graduate of Princeton, 1854. U. S. Consul in Switzerland. Married, first, Mary Louise Kealhofer of Hagerstown; secondly, Eleanor Schaefer of Baltimore.
Unattributed American, ca. 1842. 3¼ x 2½
Bequest of Mrs. Mary Giles Blunt. 53.16.2

David Sterett Gittings, M. D. (1797-1887)
Son of Richard Gittings and his wife Polly Sterett. University of Maryland Medical School 1818. Hospital interne at London, Paris and Edinburgh 1818-1820; returned to Balti-

more County to practice and made his home at "Roslyn," Upper Falls. He married first, Julianna West Howard; second, Arabella Young; third, Laura A. King.

By R. Marsden. Signed: *R. Marsden pinx 1818/London.* R. 2½ x 2

Gift of Mr. William B. Marye and the Misses Mary Sterett and Victoria Gittings. 48.112.1

MRS. ELIAS GLENN (Ann Carson) (1779-1847)

Of Newcastle, Del. Married, 1794, Judge Elias Glenn of the U. S. District Court of Maryland and had three daughters and a son, Judge John Glenn (1795-1853), of Baltimore and Catonsville.

By Charles Curtis. Signed: *C. Curtis 1827.* D. 1⅝

From estate of John Mark Glenn. 50.122.3

JOHN GREER (1761-1813)

Of York, Pa. He married, 1789, Susan Bayly. Their daughter Susan married Alexander L. Boggs, Baltimore merchant; they were the great grandparents of donor.

By James Peale. Signed: *I. P./1794.* 2 x 1½

Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.1

MRS. JOHN GREER (Susan Bayly) (1763-1808)

Daughter of John Bayly of Donegal, Pennsylvania.

By James Peale. Signed: *I. P./1797.* 2 x 1½

Gift of Mr. Fenton Boggs. 53.66.2

MAN OF THE HANSON FAMILY (?)

Unattributed American, ca. 1800. 1¾ x 1¼

Gift of Mrs. W. Winchester White. 47.52.4

BENJAMIN GWINN HARRIS (1806-1895)

Son of Col. Joseph Harris (1773-1855) and his wife Susannah Reeder (1782-1827); and grandson of Col. Thomas Harris (1741-1815) and his wife Ann Gwinn. He married 1826 Martha Elizabeth Harris. They lived at "Ellenborough," near Leonardtown. A graduate of Yale, and of the Harvard Law School, he served in the House of Delegates 1834-1836, and in the 38th and 39th Congresses.

Unattributed, ca. 1810. Water color on paper (locket) D. 1½

Gift of Mrs. Cora Key Maddox Cole. 49.52.5

JOHN FRANCIS HARRIS (1775-1834)

Son of Col. Thomas Harris and Ann Gwinn of "Mt. Tirzah,"

Charles County. Younger brother of donor's great grandfather, Col. Joseph Harris (1773-1855).
Unattributed. Paris, ca. 1810. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$
Gift of Mrs. Cora Key Maddox Cole. 54.103.1

Benjamin Harwood (1751-1826)
Son of Richard Harwood of South River, Anne Arundel County, and his wife Anne Watkins. Succeeded to the office of his older brother Thomas, first treasurer of the Western Shore, under the Council of Safety, 1776. Continental Receiver for Maryland (under the Articles of Confederation), 1783; Treasurer of the Board of St. John's College, 1786.
By James Peale. Signed: *I. P./1799.* $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
From estate of Mrs. Sallie C. Pusey. 46.108.1

Mrs. Henry Hendrickson (Margaret Faithful Garey)
Only daughter of Jeremiah Garey, pewter manufacturer of Easton, Talbot County, and his wife Elizabeth Burke, daughter of Edward Burke. Sister of Hon. Henry Faithful Garey (1821-1892), Associate Judge, 8th Judicial Circuit. Married, 1832, Henry Hendrickson. She was the grandmother of donor.
Unattributed American, ca. 1830. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
Bequest of Mrs. William R. Dorsey. 53.6.1

Mrs. Thomas Jennings Johnson (Elizabeth Russell) (1778-1805)
Daughter of William Russell (1741-1805) and his first wife Frances Lux (1747-1793). Second wife of Thomas Jennings Johnson (1766-ca. 1807), son of Thomas Johnson, Governor of Maryland.
Attributed to Jean Pierre Henri Élouis. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2$
Deposited by Mrs. John W. Avirett

Captain David Cummings Landis (ca. 1807-1878)
Master of clipper ship *Republic* sailing around Cape Horn, bound for the Orient, and skipper of the *F. W. Brune* during 1863 rescue of disabled bark *Margaretta,* bound for Plymouth, England; port warden at Baltimore. Great grandfather of donor's wife, Helen Root Landis Lindenberg, in whose memory this gift was made.
Unattributed. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
Gift of Mr. Victor H. Lindenberg. 48.109.1

MRS. DAVID C. LANDIS (Josephine M.) (d. ca. 1884)
Wife of Captain Landis. According to family tradition, Mrs. Landis made her home on her husband's vessels and her children were born aboard ship. Great grandmother of Mrs. Victor H. Lindenberg in whose memory this gift was made.
Unattributed. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
Gift of Mr. Victor H. Lindenberg. 48.109.2

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE (1766-1820)
Architect and engineer who emigrated from England in 1796. He worked in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, New Orleans and Washington, where from 1803 to 1811 he was Surveyor of Public Buildings, and supervising architect of the U. S. Capitol.
Unattributed. ca. 1810. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
Deposited by Mrs. Adrian H. Onderdonk.

JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL LATROBE (1813-1891)
Lawyer, writer, and artist of Baltimore; son of Benjamin Henry Latrobe and his second wife Mary Hazlehurst (1780-1841). A founder of the Maryland Historical Society and its president 1871-1891.
Unattributed. Oil on paper. $3\frac{7}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$
Gift of Latrobe Cogswell. 45.105.2

MRS. WILLIAM ARMISTEAD MOALE, II. (Eleanor Addison Gittings) (1850-1890)
Daughter of William Smith Gittings (1826-1863) and his wife Anna Maria Aldridge (1827-1902). Married in 1882 William Armistead Moale, Jr. (b. 1849) son of William Armistead Moale (1800-1880) and his wife Mary Winchester (1812-1889).
By N. F. Bean. Signed: *N. F. Bean.* $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
Deposited by Mrs. Louis Lehr.

THOMAS JOHN MORRIS (1837-1912)
U. S. District Judge for Maryland. Born in Baltimore, son of John Morris (1805-1846) of Ireland and Baltimore, he married in Paris, 1836, Sarah Chancellor (1815-1877), daughter of Samuel Chancellor (1760-1844) of London and Le Havre, France.
By A. Paquelier. Signed: *A. Paquelier.* $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$
Bequest of Miss Josephine Cushing Morris. 56.50.9

RICHARD OWEN (ca. 1745-1822)

Licensed Methodist minister ca. 1772. Teacher of writing and mathematics, 1784, at St. John's College, Annapolis. Died at his residence " Plinlimmon," Baltimore County.

By David Boudon, 1808. Inscribed: *St. John's College/Jan. 1808/Richard Owen/aged 64/David Boudon.* Watercolor on card. R. 2⅜ x 2 3/16

Gift of Miss Mary H. Maynard and Mrs. William Ross Howard. 56.29.1

LOUIS CHARLES PASCAULT (1790-1867)

A captain in the Mexican War. Son of The Marquis de Poléon, Jean Charles Marie Louis Felix Pascault, d'Aunis et de Saintagney (ca. 1749-1824) and his wife Mary Magdalene Slye (1756-1830). Married 1810 Ann E. Goldsborough (1787-1855), daughter of Howes and Rebecca Goldsborough, of " Pleasant Valley," Talbot County. Presented in memory of donor's husband, Richard Macsherry (1886-1949), great great nephew of subject.

Unattributed. Watercolor on paper. R. 3¾ x 2¼

Gift of Mrs. Richard Macsherry. 50.83.1

FRANCIS AUGUSTINE PERIER, (1797-1858)

Refugee from Santo Domingo to Norfolk, Va., married Dinnette ————. On gravestone, St. Paul's Churchyard, Norfolk, the name is spelt " Perries."

Unattributed European. 2¼ x 2

Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.2

FRANCIS AUGUSTINE PERIER (1797-1858)

Unattributed. Said to have been painted in Paris. R. 3¼ x 2½

Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.3

ROBERT SHEDDEN (d. ca. 1795)

Uncle of Mrs. George W. Riggs (Janet Madeline Cecilia Shedden) of Washington, D. C.

By Maria A. (?) Chalon. R. 5 3/16 x 4 1/16

Gift of Mr. George de Geofroy and Commander Henry M. Howard, R. N. 49.90.12

MRS. ROBERT SHEDDEN (Agatha ————) (d. ca. 1795)

By Maria A. (?) Chalon. R. 5 3/16 x 4 1/16

Gift of Mr. George de Geofroy and Commander Henry M. Howard, R. N. 49.90.13

JOHN SINGLETON (1750-1819)
Native of Whitehaven, England; settled in Talbot County. Married first, 1774, Bridget Goldsborough; secondly, 1790, Anna Goldsborough, niece of his first wife, daughter of Nicholas Goldsborough of " Otwell."
By Charles Willson Peale, 1790. 2 x 1½
Purchase. 56.36.1

WILLIAMINA SMITH (Mrs. Charles Goldsborough) (1768-1783)
Daughter of the Reverend William Smith, first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and President of Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland. She was engaged at one time to Dr. Thomas Cradock (1752-1821), a great great uncle of the donor, and ultimately married Mr. Goldsborough (1761-1801) of " Horns Point," Dorchester County.
Attributed to Major John André of the British Army. Oil on porcelain setting for finger ring. ¾ x ½
Gift of Mr. Arthur Cradock. 53.76.2

MARY T. SPENCE
Niece of James Russell Lowell. She was educated by Lowell's sister, Miss Mary Lowell, returned to Baltimore and, with her widowed mother, opened a small private school for children about 1830. Died in Lyons, Ohio.
By John H. Tegemeyer, 1863. Signed: *Tegmey . . .* Watercolor on paper. R. 4 x 2½
Gift of Miss Katharine M. Christhilf. 53.52.2

MRS. GEORGE STEVENSON (Margaret Cromwell) (1776-1846)
Married in Baltimore May 1, 1794, by the Reverend Mr. Willis.
Unattributed American. 2 x 1¾
Gift of estate of Miss Mary E. Waters. 49.18.3

DR. HENRY STEVENSON (1721-1814)
Born in Londonderry, Ireland, married (1) Frances Stokes, (2) Ann Dawson who died July 8, 1792, aet. 44, and was buried in the vault at " Parnassus "; (3) Ann Caulk, d. 16 Oct. 1806, in 54th year. Dr. Stevenson introduced inoculation for smallpox and used a wing of his house " Parnassus " as a hospital. His property was confiscated during the Revolution, but later was returned to him because of his important services to the community. Great great grandfather of the donor.

Unattributed American. $1\frac{11}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
Gift of Mr. Arthur Cradock. 53.76.1 A

Rev. George Clement Stokes (1824-1904)
Son of William B. Stokes (1782-1866) and his wife Henrietta M. C. Stokes (1791-1862) of Baltimore. A native and member of the Baltimore Bar. Ordained 1853 by Bishop Whittingham; married in 1857 Emma Brown, daughter of John Brown (1793-1876) of Queen Anne's County. Served as rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Baltimore, 1861-1904.
Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
Gift of estate of Miss Anna Lee Brown. 55.56.1

Charles Tyler (1772-1825)
Of Norfolk, Virginia.
Unottributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.1

Mrs. William F. Tyler (Caroline Augusta Rogers) (1823-1916)
Tyler family of Norfolk, Virginia. Mother of donor.
Unattributed. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$
Gift of Mrs. Samuel T. Earle. 50.79.1

Andrew Augustus Van Bibber (ca. 1755-1805)
Probably son of Henry Van Bibber (ca. 1726-1778) married in Chestertown, 1790, Sally Forman, daughter of Ezekiel Forman, and sister of Gen. Thomas Marsh Forman (1758-1845). A Baltimore merchant, he later lived at North End, Va.
By James Peale (?). $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{11}{16}$
Gift of Misses Mary V. and Betty C. Goodwin. 50.63.1

Dr. Henry Peterson Van Bibber (1800-1840)
Son of Andrew Augustus Van Bibber, merchant of Baltimore, later resident of North End, Va., and his wife Sally Forman. Married Margaret Bartree.
By Henry Bebie (?) ca. 1840. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
Gift of Misses Mary V. and Betty C. Goodwin. 50.63.2

Mrs. Henry Peterson Van Bibber (Margaret Bartree) (ca. 1805-ca. 1840)
According to tradition, native of England. She and her husband are said to have spent much time in England.

By Henry Bebie (?). 3 x 2¾
Gift of Misses Mary V. and Betty C. Goodwin. 50.63.3

PEREGRINE WELCH (Welsh) (d. 1826)
Son of Robert Welch of Londontown, South River, Anne Arundel County. Removed to Baltimore ca. 1805 and was appointed clerk of the City Commissioners. Married 1807 Lydia Richardson (ca. 1784-1871), daughter of Daniel Richardson of Baltimore. Subject was maternal grandfather of donor.
By David Boudon. Watercolor on card. R. 3 x 2¾
Gift of Mr. Clinton Perrine. 55.21.1

MARY E. WILKINS
By Florence Mackubin. Signed: *Florence Mackubin/1899.* R. 3⅜ x 2¾
Deposited by Peabody Institute

JOSEPH DE MULET WILLIAMSON (1807-1843)
Son of David Williamson and his second wife, Julia de Mulet (1758-1853) both of Baltimore. Married 1833 Mary Boyle. Died in Louisiana.
Unattributed. 3¼ x 2½
Gift of Mrs. Henry H. Flather. 53.116.1

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN
By Marlet. Signed: *Marlet/1791*
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.5

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN (ca. 1810)
American School, watercolor on paper. 4 x 3
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.56.1

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN
American School (ca. 1840). $1^{15}/_{16}$ x $1^{15}/_{16}$
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.7

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1890)
By Richard C. Poulmey. 3⅝ x 2¾
Gift of Mrs. J. Hall Pleasants. 46.111.2

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1790)
Possibly Elizabeth Bordley (1777-1863) daughter of John Beale Bordley .
Unattributed. Acquired in 1954 by donor from M. George P. Lung of France. D. 2½
Gift of Dr. James Bordley, Jr. 55.48.2

UNKNOWN LADY
Style of Sir Thomas Lawrence.
Unattributed European. 4 x 3⅜
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.65.4

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1810)
Water color backed by portion of letter, inscribed: ". . .*poole, Peale . . . Peale* (*brother of Ch . . . on Peale*).
Unattributed water color on paper. 3¾ x 3
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.2

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1840)
Unattributed. 1¾ x 1½
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.9

UNKNOWN LADY
Style of ca. 1800, wearing coral necklace. Emerald green cloisonné backed locket frame.
Unattributed 20th century European. 3¼ x 2
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.65.5

UNKNOWN LADY
In 17th century dress. Miniature mounted in top of ivory patch box.
Signed: *Rubee.* D. 1¼
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 55.65.6

UNKNOWN LADY (ca. 1855)
Brooch pin, backed with mother-of-pearl.
Unattributed. 1⅝ x 1⅜
Gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler. 54.158.8

"PARNASSUS," Baltimore, Md. (ca. 1775)
Country house located on east bank of Jones Falls, approximately the area north of the city jail about Chase Street. Home of Dr. Henry Stevenson (1721-1814).
Unattributed. 1 11/16 x 1½ (One side of divided locket, other side portrait of Dr. Stevenson).
Gift of Mr. Arthur Cradock. 53.76.1 B

SIDELIGHTS

EGG–PICKING

Paul S. Clarkson

For a sport so widely practiced and so fondly remembered by so many, the art and lore of " egg-picking " has a remarkably small bibliography. For the benefit of non-Marylanders, perhaps it should be explained that the game was long popular among children around Easter time, and consisted of tapping one hardboiled egg against another, the loser being he whose egg was the first to crack. Interesting but by no means exhaustive articles on the subject (street cries, ritual, techniques, etc.) are to be found in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* for March 29, 1933 (editorial page), and in the *Sunday Sun* for April 17, 1949 (brown section). A brief notice of this custom is also to be found in Carolina Canfield Bullock and Annie Weston Whitney's *Folk-Lore from Maryland* (New York, 1925), p. 117. A graphic description of the sport is to be found at pp. 312-13 of Augusta Tucker's *Miss Susie Slagle's* (New York, 1939), a novel of life and love at the Johns Hopkins Medical School forty-odd years ago.

The antiquity of this custom is illustrated by a passage from Thomas Anbury's *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789). Anbury was a highly observant young British officer who was shifted from one prisoner-of-war camp to another (from Boston to Winchester and back again) during the last half of the American Revolution. While stationed at " Col. Beattie's Plantation near Frederick Town in Maryland, July 11, 1781," he noted the following customs then and there prevalent (Vol. II, at pp. 500-1):

" At Easter holidays, the young people have a custom, in this province, of boiling eggs in logwood, which dyes the shell crimson, and though this colour will not rub off, you may, with a pin, scratch on them any figure or device you think proper. This is practised by the young men and maidens, who present them to each other as love tokens. As these eggs are boiled a considerable time to take the dye, the shell acquires great strength, and the little children divert themselves by striking the eggs against each other, and that which breaks becomes the property of him whose egg remains whole."

A LETTER DESCRIBING THE ATTACK ON FORT McHENRY

The Reverend James Stevens (1776-1859), a Methodist, was stationed in Baltimore during the British attack on Fort McHenry in the War of 1812. He reported his reactions to the attack in the following letter to his sister, which was generously given to the Maryland Historical Society by Walton D. Wilson, a great-great-grandson of Stevens:

Baltimore, September 29th 1814

My dear Sister

In the midst of all the distresses with which I am incumpast the labours of both body and mind under which I move, I would strive to redeem a little time and appropriate it to riting to you who is still present in mind while absent in body. I am atending to my Station and have been ever since I returned from the Springs which was the first of this month—as far as I am able and perhaps a little further my helth is not restord my brest is weak my apetite is bad my poor frame is waisting away, my labours here is hard my preaching is the Smallest part but let me tel you that my good God is with me and I feel as if my work wood soon be dun and I cald to rest from my labours—you no doubt have heard of our distress in this place and if possible worse then what it was—war has brought its calamities to our doors. I got to my Station before our ingagement in this place and was here all the time. I do not feel able to paint out the distress and confution half as it was with us—to see the wagons, carts and drays, all in hast mooving the people, and the poorer sort with what they could cary and there children on there backs flying for there lives while I could see planely the British Sail which was ingagd in a severe fire on our fort for 24 Hours. I could see them fire and the Bumbs lite and burst on the Shore at which explosion the hole town and several miles out would shake—there bumbs waid upwards of 200 pounds which was throwd three miles, at least sum of them did not burst which I have seen in which there was six pounds of powder for the purpos of bursting of them at this time we had our wounded fetch from the fort in to town with the wounded from the ingagement on land below town a few mile sum with there limbs broke and others with part of there limbs left behind, while two wagons were loded with the dead—However there loss must have been more than ours we have kep our ground so far and are expecting them again—this is our situation at this time every has to stand with his sord by his side there is no buisness of consiquence going on here all apears to bespeak destrucktion. O that God may undertake for us—this is the second letter I have rote to you Since my return O Sister rite to me as soon as possible and remember me at a throne of grace where our prayers I hope will meet for each other—my Love to Father & Mother Morison & thy Dear little daughter and tel her Samuel is well from

James Stevens.

Mrs Julian Pernell
Huntingdon, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Charles McLean Andrews, A Study in American Historical Writing. By A. S. Eisenstadt. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. xx, 273 pp.

To read Dr. Eisenstadt's study has been for the present reviewer a revisiting his old mentor as hero, and a return to times gone by. Andrews, though anything but withdrawn from the university, craft, and community in which he dwelled, was yet so completely the working historian that one can only be grateful for the author's decision to write an exposition and criticism of the man's historiographical effort, rather than a round biography. He lived his profession with an intensity of application which must have conflicted sometimes with irreducible routines in his patrician surroundings. Eisenstadt catches that background; he catches also the assiduity with which Mrs. Andrews supported him, and he indicates the freedom Yale gave him as professor for a quarter century to study and write and teach exactly what he felt called to do. A lecture-course and a seminar each year in American colonial history for graduate students was his total teaching assignment; one new doctor of philosophy a year was the rate of production he set for himself as trainer of scholars.

When I was his student, just before and just after retirement twenty-five years ago, Andrews was surrounded by legends of personal grandeur and near-omniscience in history—such as a story of his confounding Rostovtseff on a point of Roman history debated at faculty lunch. Though contrasting stories cropped up also, which purported to come from the seedtime of his career, I may admit to being startled to find fully authenticated the datum that at Trinity College, Hartford, Andrews made an unpromising start as student, and almost decided to drop out of college. And my own retrospect on a mind, which I believe was no more than moderately sympathetic with the study of religious ideas in history, has been altered by learning from Eisenstadt that Andrew's minister father, of old New England line to be sure, belonged to the Catholic Apostolic—an adventist and ritualist—movement. Finally in the department of biographical event, a Hopkins reviewer must squirm in his chair to discover that during Andrews three-year occupancy of a professorship here—as successor in 1907 to H. B. Adams who had trained him two decades earlier—he found himself pressed into being, he said, an academic "general-utility-man" and that he had "almost ceased to be a scholar." When Yale took Andrews it outdid Hopkins in the Hopkins tradition of first attention to creative research.

More comfortably Eisenstadt confirms that it was Hopkins training which

had set Andrews on the road of learning—as it set Woodrow Wilson, F. J. Turner, and C. H. Haskins his contemporaries. The writer clarifies a little-recognized point about him that the medieval studies he began at Hopkins, and developed in his early book *The Old English Manor,* represented a dissent from Adams's " germ " theory of institutions; and this renders Andrews comparable with Turner, who made a different kind, and a more famous, dissent from Adams's doctrine. From the early 1890s forward Andrews's entire commitment as scholar was fixed in the colonial period. Leading specialist among specialists, Andrews's researches stretched over two centuries, from Walter Raleigh to George Washington; and the author-critic's point is neatly taken, that the massive quantity of Andrews's investigations became transformed into quality by virtue of breadth and depth. Eisenstadt reviews fairly and lucidly the now well known generalizations about colonial relationships which were the essence of Andrews's large interpretation. He is right in indicating that Andrews lost perspective on his own work and that of his colleagues when late in life he continued to speak of the " new " colonial history decades after that view had been widely accepted. But the writer goes too far when he criticizes Andrews's ideas as " obvious."

Andrew's day has passed. Not for the worse new interests are governing colonial historical research today; and the center of gravity of American historiography as a whole has shifted forward in time to periods which interested Andrews hardly at all. An equally important difference in our day from his is the often expressed relativism of the working historian's philosophy; and, related to that, is a prevailing habit, not to our credit, that most historians today are quite piecemeal in their work. Very few proceed as Andrews (and Turner) did, to pile up lifetime accumulations of data in a field, and to propose reinterpretations applicable not so much to days or decades but to centuries of history. For our day, though we assign ourselves different tasks, Andrews's rigorous sense of the historian's objectivity, of the dignity and vitality of his effort, seem especially precious. He had a sense of the international—always of the transoceanic if not so perfectly the universal—in history, and a superb conviction that the long-run counts more than the short-run does in human affairs. These are not to be claimed as unique insights belonging to Charles M. Andrews alone, but he expressed them splendidly in a context which gave them meaning, and Eisenstadt is to be congratulated on having written an analysis and a reminder.

CHARLES A. BARKER

The Johns Hopkins University

Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal. By Bliss Forbush. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. xxii, 355 pages. $5.50.

In producing this work Bliss Forbush, Headmaster of the Friends' School in Baltimore, has made an outstanding contribution to both Quaker and American historical writing. In the nearly half a century since the last work on Hicks was printed a considerable body of unpublished manuscript material, including a large number of letters and a hundred pages of Hicks' *Journal,* has become available for study. It is through using both the newly discovered and the already known documents that the author paints a detailed and highly interesting account of American Quakerism in the last part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

Elias Hicks, who was born on Long Island in 1748 and who lived eighty-two years, was active as an itinerant Quaker minister for half a century—from 1779 to 1830. In a time of primitive travel conditions he rode more than forty thousand miles by horseback and carriage, often sleeping in the open woods or in the rude cabins of the backcountry. Wherever he stopped, whether it was in a Maryland tobacco barn, a state capital, a Friends' meeting house, or an orchard, great crowds came out to hear Elias Hicks speak. Throughout the Society of Friends and among many non-Friends this man was regarded as one of the saints and prophets of the age. Truly he seemed to be an instrument of God. This was as true in Maryland and the other states that he visited as it was in his native Long Island. Wherever he went the various Friends' meetings recorded their appreciation of his religious labors among them.

The story of Elias Hicks is related in a significant way to the whole development of liberal and progressive thought in America. He combined the teaching of God's individual guidance with the use of human reason. Hicks was one of the earliest teachers of progressive revelation, a theological position which caused many of the orthodox Friends to view him as an infidel. This teaching was one of the contributing factors to the division which occurred in the Society shortly before the death of Elias Hicks.

The Great Separation of 1827-1829 among American Friends is fully treated and documented. Dr. Forbush relates it to the strong feelings of sectionalism, the widespread development of new denominations which came about in this first third of the nineteenth century, and the new democratic spirit at large in America. The division in the Society of Friends (just recently done away with in the New York and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, but still in evidence among those Friends in Maryland west of the Chesapeake Bay) is one of the most regrettable happenings in Quaker history. Those interested in Quakerism, and all serious students of church history, will find this account of the Separation (especially the somewhat unsavory part played by traveling English Quakers) to be enlightening and thought-provoking. As is so clearly shown in this book, there were many factors which led up to the division and many persons who contributed to the break. One of the real values of this volume is the corrected picture which it gives of Hicks who, somewhat vaguely, has been thought responsible for the separation. Hicks was more sinned against

than sinning. A close examination of the facts shows Elias Hicks in a far more favorable light than most of the other people involved.

One of the things least known today about Elias Hicks is his contribution to anti-slavery work. His *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their descendants,* published in 1810, contained the seeds of the abolition crusade taken up some twenty years later by William Lloyd Garrison and those who followed Garrison's leadership. This pamphlet gave great impetus to the movement against the use of slave products. Rice, cotton, and sugar were boycotted by many Friends. In Baltimore "free produce" stores were opened. Hick's method in dealing with the problem of slavery were different from that of his well-known predecessor John Woolman (1720-1773) who is universally considered to be the finest product of American Quakerism. Some of his contemporaries found Hicks' approach too stern. Others felt that this was indeed a time for sternness.

Maryland readers of this work will be interested in the many religious journeys that Hicks made to this state—to the Southern Quarter of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (which included about a dozen meetings in Kent, Caroline, and Talbot Counties on the Eastern Shore), Baltimore, Pipe Creek, Sandy Springs, and other Maryland localities. His observations upon local Friends, Nicholites or "New Quakers," other non-Friends, and upon the land itself are all of historical value and interest. The thorough index in this volume makes it easy to locate persons, places, or events. All in all, this is a superior work.

KENNETH L. CARROLL

Southern Methodist University

Washington and His Neighbors. By CHARLES W. STETSON. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1956. 342 pp. $5.

It is almost unbelievable that there could be any new material on the subject of George Washington, or that any new arrangement of the old material would be of immediate interest. However, here is a book that fills a gap in the series. It ties together parts of previous books and adds information of a local character. Mr. Stetson in a quiet, unassuming way has boiled down to readability many of Dr. Douglas Freeman's asides and enlarged on many of his footnotes. Besides this, he has done considerable research on land titles of the old estates surrounding Mount Vernon. He has chapters on the vanished towns of Colchester and Dumfries and has looked into the lives of Washington's large family connections and lesser known friends as well as into those of the famous.

In a chronological account, pretty well skimmed of politics and war, seventeen of the twenty-three chapters deal with the local scene—the towns and gentlemen's estates of Prince William and Fairfax Counties. This is the most valuable part of the book which follows closely the entries in the Washington *Diaries.*

Mr. Stetson has worked almost entirely from secondary sources so that the book tends to become a compilation of quotations. But the quotations

are apt and well chosen. It is a pity that he did not avail himself of the manuscript collection at Mount Vernon and so spare himself a few minor errors. But he must be thanked for giving us something new—a readable, well-indexed account of Washington's life as a country gentleman and his social and business contacts with the men and women of his neighboring Virginia.

The illustrations are excellent. The photographs of some of the smaller eighteenth-century houses have never been previously published.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1798. By BROOKE HINDLE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. xi, 410 pp. $7.50.

This is the first comprehensive history of American science in the period of the Enlightenment, and it is likely to remain the standard one for a long time, the product of diligent research in manuscript and printed sources by the author. There are not many Americans, or temporary residents in America, between 1735 and 1789, with any record of scientific interest who have not been included in this history, and Hindle has interpreted science in its broadest sense to bring in the practitioners of surveying, agriculture and the crafts wherever they displayed a desire to improve their work through the application of new techniques. Of local interest, Maryland's John Beale Bordley is given a deserved bouquet for his experiments in agriculture and his attempts to promote better agricultural practices.

In the selection of a title for his book Hindle wisely used *pursuit* to describe the nature of scientific activity in this period, for, if Franklin is excepted, the contributions of Americans to the development of the international body of scientific knowledge was slight indeed. In writing the general history of science during this period Franklin would deserve an honorable place for his work on electricity, but other Americans would hardly warrant a footnote. America had so few first-rate scientists in this period that there is a tendency to exaggerate the clever gadgetry of Jefferson and Rittenhouse, the excellent teaching of John Winthrop, and the fine natural history descriptions of Bartram out of all proportion to their basic importance in the development of science. Hindle did not succumb to the temptation to exaggerate achievement. In fact, on the basis of achievement, as he presents them, many of the persons introduced in his history would deserve oblivion.

To understand the significance of this work, it is necessary to reflect for a moment on the tremendous impact science has in our present culture and the leading role this nation now has in science—and then to ask how this came about. Our rise as a major scientific nation commenced with the ante-bellum generation even though our great concerns were still politics, business, agriculture and the taming of the wilderness. But it was in the

years covered by Hindle's book that the desire to follow science as a career was incubated. The impetus of a need comes to nought unless it is accompanied by a belief in the value of meeting it and the will to do so. Had all Americans held science in contempt as a useless pursuit—and many did—our participation in it might have been long delayed. Hindle shows how widespread the faith in progress through science was in the American Enlightenment and how it became one of the fundamental beliefs of our young republic. The importance of the many persons who appear in his book is not their achievement in science, but their unquestioning faith that the pursuit of science was worthwhile. The amount of activity in the pursuit is truly remarkable considering that America was a frontier region and the Atlantic Ocean separated it from the centers of learning. Indeed, areas in the British Isles and on the Continent much closer to these centers showed far less interest in the pursuit of science.

Since Americans were working in the general framework of European scientific objectives, it would have been helpful to the reader if Hindle had pointed up these objectives more sharply. For example, he explains, and well, the popularity of Newtonianism in Enlightenment thought, but from a scientific point of view the Newtonian astronomy did not appear in full flower with the publication of the *Principia.* The distance of the sun from the earth was a fundamental and unresolved problem of celestial measurement in the eighteenth century, and the excitement over the transits of Venus and Mercury resulted from the belief that this yardstick was about to be revealed. The significance of Mason and Dixon's measurement of a degree of longitude along the parallel of latitude they were running was not as great as it would have been half a century earlier when the validity of Newton's entire system was in doubt because measurements in France of a similar kind suggested that the earth was spindle-shaped instead of oblate, as required by Newton's theory. It was still important, however, as the only such measurement in North America. Upon these measurements of a degree of longitude in widely separated places on the earth depended the calculation of the earth's diameter, another basic yardstick of celestial measurement, and a problem which brought forth the greatest scientific expeditions of the century. A more practical corollary of these measurements was the establishment of accurate reference points for map-making. The utilitarian results in cartography had already been brilliantly demonstrated in the eighteenth century to the satisfaction of the maritime nations. Although this kind of background to the activity of the Americans is well-known to Hindle, his failure to include it makes the efforts of colonial scientists appear somewhat aimless. But perhaps space requirements ruled out additional material.

F. C. Haber

The American Pageant, A History of the Republic. By THOMAS A. BAILEY. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1956. xvi, 1007 pp. $9.

Author of one of the three standard works on American diplomatic history, Professor Bailey has turned his attention in this work to the story of the American achievement in becoming a gigantic and unique democracy. Although adapted for text-book use, the general reader should not pass it over, for it is colorfully written by a master stylist. The narrative flows along smoothly with lively cartoons and lucid maps to illustrate it. Sympathetic, though critical, the author has carried the *pageant* of our history out of the dull region of commonplace text-books to the level of effortless, graphic reading.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series 1, Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, Sept. 10, 1745—June 17, 1746. Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. xi, 291 pp. $8.

This is another volume in the outstanding series of colonial records published by the South Carolina Archives Department. The editing is excellent, and the thorough coverage of this series and other publications of the Archives Department should result in an increase of scholarly activity on colonial South Carolina history. This series alone gives much hitherto inaccessible material for all phases of life and activity in the Colony.

State Records of South Carolina, Journals of the South Carolina Executive Councils of 1861 and 1862. Edited by CHARLES E. CAUTHEN. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. xv, 336 pp. $8.

The first of another series in the publication program of the South Carolina Archives Department, this volume presents the journals of the two executive councils that functioned in South Carolina shortly after the state seceded from the Union on December 20, 1860. The series will make available documents in the national period. Because of the lively interest in Confederate history which is current today, the publication of the official records of one of the most secession-minded states will undoubtedly have a wide reading. The editor, author of *South Carolina Goes to War,* is an authority on the history of these critical years.

Should there be any doubt about the South Carolina Archives Department taking the leadership in this country at the present time in her program of publishing state records, attention should also be called to *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South*

Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution, Book K. Edited by WYLMA ANNE WATES. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. vii, 60 pp. *South Carolina Bibliographies No. 4. Articles in Periodicals and Serials on South Carolina Literature and Related Subjects, 1900-1955.* By HENNIG COHEN. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956. viii, 81 pp.

Through All These Years: the Story of the Roland Park Country School 1901-1956. By JANE TINSLEY SWOPE. [Baltimore, 1956] 80 pp.

Since 1901, Roland Park Country School has been an important institution in the lives of many young Marylanders. In celebration of its fiftieth anniversary Jane Tinsley Swope has written a pleasant review of the school's history. Many familiar names of leading people in the state, especially in Baltimore, appear in the story. The chapter on "Headmistresses" gives short biographies of Bertha Chapman, Nanna Duke Dushane, Elizabeth M. Castle, and Anne Healy. The book has many fine illustrations and should evoke pleasant memories in the minds of many of our readers.

History of St. Michael's Parish. By ANNA ELLIS HARPER. [Easton,] 1956. 62 pp. $3.

The author of this work has done a fine job in narrating the history of St. Michael's Parish. The parish dates back to the seventeenth century and through the pages of the book appears much Talbot County history. Mrs. Harper has made a diligent search of court house and vestry records and brought them to life in her history.

Our readers may be interested to know that F. Van Wyck Mason has written another historical novel in which some of the setting is placed in Maryland. *Our Valiant Few* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1956, $3.95) deals with the South's efforts to break the Union Naval Blockade. Ironclad rams, federal gun boats and monitors, duels with Confederate shore batteries and blockade runners outracing their pursuers provide much of the action in the book.

Two books written for children on Maryland subjects will be read by many parents. One is the story of a little Indian princess who actually lived in Maryland in the early days of colonization, by Mrs. Nan Hayden Agle (*Princess Mary of Maryland.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. $2.50). Princess Mary was the daughter of the Emperor of the Piscataway Indians. She married Giles Brent, one of the original colonists, and was baptized by Father Andrew White. The book is

brilliantly illustrated by Aaron Sopher, who needs no introduction in Maryland. The other juvenile based on Maryland history is Maud Esther Dilliard's *Ahoy, Peggy Stewart!* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1956. $2.50). The hero of the story is eight-year old Toby Seymour, but the Peggy Stewart incident is the central theme. The line drawings by Lorence F. Bjorklund add to the dramatic effect of the narrative.

The *Twenty-ninth Report, Society For The History Of The Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1956) contains the following excellent articles: "Egg Harbor City: New Germany in New Jersey," by Dieter Cunz; "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia 1840-1860," by Klaus G. Wust; "Einhorn and Szold: Two Liberal German Rabbis in Baltimore," by Eitel Wolf Dobert; "The Goethe Societies of Baltimore and Washington," by Augustus J. Prahl. "The Bicentennial of Zion Church in Baltimore," by Hans-Ludwig Wagner; "A Mencken Reminiscence," by A. E. Zucker. The articles in this series, as usual, are scholarly and interesting, but it is unfortunate that the historical articles by members of the Society appear as a Society *Report*. The publication deserves a much wider reading, and the forbidding aspect of *Report* on the cover is not likely to attract many new readers.

A useful tool for all researchers in Virginia history is Volume XXV of the *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library*. This volume by Wilmer L. Hall is Part V of "A Bibliography of Virginia," and contains the titles of the printed documents of the commonwealth, 1916-1925.

The Walters Art Gallery has published a *Catalogue of the American Works of Art, Including French Medals Made for America,* by Edward S. King and Marvin C. Ross (Baltimore, 1956), 63 pp. $2.00. Previous publications listing the American works of art in the Walters Art Gallery were Marvin Chauncey Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge's *Catalogue of the Works of William Henry Rinehart, Maryland Sculptor, 1825-1875* (Baltimore, 1948) and Mr. Ross's *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller, 1837* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951). This attractive volume completes the publication of the Gallery's American material in catalogue form.

For many years the Director of the Maryland Historical Society, James W. Foster, has been doing research on Fielding Lucas, Jr., (1781-1854), an important Baltimore book publisher. Lucas was influential in the life of Baltimore in the early nineteenth century and especially so through his publishing adventures. The life of Lucas and his contributions as an American publisher are brought into sharp focus by Mr. Foster in "Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th Century Publisher of Fine Books and Maps," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1955,* pages 161-212. Reprints are available from the author.

An admirable genealogical study of interest in Maryland and Virginia is Robert Howe Fletcher, Jr.'s *Genealogical Sketch of Certain of the American Descendants of Mathew Talbot, Gentleman* (Richmond, 1956). The sketch is accompanied by four large folding charts and contains much Talbot family data. Copies may be obtained from the author at Leesburg, Virginia, for $2.00.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Research Facilities on George Washington—The research material acquired by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association for use in the restoration work undertaken since the Association became the preserver and guardian of the home and tomb of George Washington in 1859, has formed the basis of a reference library at Mount Vernon. The primary fields of interest are the personal and domestic life of Washington, his family, and their friends and neighbors, as well as eighteenth century Virginia architecture, horticulture, agriculture, and the domestic arts and crafts, as they relate to Mount Vernon.

The library includes some sixteen hundred manuscripts, and about one thousand photostat copies of manuscripts. It also has about three thousand reference volumes, including the Jackson Collection of Washington eulogies, biographies, etc., a large and fairly complete collection of early views of Mount Vernon, blueprints and maps, and a rather extensive file of newspaper articles, postcards, and other ephemera. General Washington's library is represented by about three hundred and fifty titles, consisting of original volumes, duplicate editions, and association items.

The library is primarily used by the Association staff as an aid in the restoration work at Mount Vernon, but students and scholars are cordially welcomed to use its resources. Inquiries may be addressed to:

Librarian, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
Mount Vernon, Virginia.

Governor Richard Caswell—The State of North Carolina is erecting a memorial to Governor Richard Caswell, who was a native of Maryland but removed to North Carolina as a young man and had an exceptionally brilliant career there during and after the Revolutionary War. He won fame as a soldier and was the first governor of the State of North Carolina after the Declaration of Independence. He is the only North Carolina governor of whom there is no known portrait. His family was of some importance in Maryland before and after the Revolutionary War period, and it is hoped that there may be somewhere in Maryland a sketch or portrait of this distinguished son of the Free State. If anyone has knowledge of such a portrait, kindly communicate with Col. Paul A. Rockwell, 142 Hillside Street, Asheville, North Carolina, who is a member of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission.

Cox—I have certain records of Dr. C. C. Cox in my possession, and have recently read the book *Woman with a Sword* in which the credit for keeping Maryland in the Union is given to Anna Ella Carroll. The late Francis M. Tilghman (a grandson of General Tench Tilghman and also of Dr. Cox) held tenaciously to the opinion that it was the influence of Dr. Cox with Governor Hicks that was responsible for Maryland not seceding. Francis M. Tilghman was reared by Dr. Cox, came to Australia with him in 1879, and knew him very intimately. He also assured me that Mrs. Cox, formerly a Northrop of Hartford, threw her great abilities and no small influence, into the scales on the side of the North. As a great-grandson of Dr. Cox, I should be glad to know more of the cross currents at work in Maryland in 1861-64, and perhaps some member of the Society has information of interest, and which would throw fresh light on the influences brought to bear on Governor Hicks. Had Maryland seceded, I should think that Mr. Lincoln's war against the South would have resulted in a victory for the Confederacy. So far as I can gather, a majority of Marylanders sympathized with the South, many enlisting in its armies, and it would appear that only armed force kept the State in the Union. For using this force, the governor was responsible, but who was really behind him?

Douglas C. Tilghman,
Albert Street, Berry, N. S. W. Australia.

Church History—I am doing research in American Church History which includes Colonial Maryland. I would be most grateful to any person who supplies information regarding the location of papers of any of the following men who attended a Church Convention at Chestertown, Kent Co., in November, 1780:

Vestrymen of St. Paul's Parish, Kent County: Col. Richard Lloyd, James Dunn, John Page, Richard Miller, Simon Wickes. Vestrymen of Chester Parish, Kent County: Dr. John Scott, John Bolton, J. W. Tilden, St. Leger Everett, James Wroth. Churchwardens of Chester Parish: John Kennard, ——— Sturgess. Vestrymen of Shrewsbury Parish, South Sassafras, Kent County: Christopher Hall, George Moffett, William Keating. Churchwarden of Shrewsbury: ——— C———. Vestrymen of St. Luke's, Queen Anne's County: John Brown, ——— Downs. Parish affiliations unknown: Dr. William Bordly, Dr. ——— Van Dyke, Col. Isaac Perkins, Carles Groom, William Keene, James Hackett.

Robert W. Shoemaker,
History Department, RPI, Troy, New York.

CONTRIBUTORS

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN is the great-granddaughter of John Knight, Pratt's correspondent. She is now preparing for publication the travel diaries of John Knight. ☆ BINGHAM DUNCAN, Associate Professor of History at Emory University, has written several articles on Anglo-American tobacco and rice trade. His current research is in American diplomacy and commerce during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. ☆ LEWIS ADDISON BECK, JR., Baltimore businessman, is the great-grandson of Edward H. Bell, one of the builders of the *Seaman* and *Seaman's Bride*. He owns the original painting from which the cover picture was made. ☆ DOUGLAS GORDON is well-known to the readers of the *Magazine*. Among his recent contributions has been the editing of the diary of John M. Gordon (*Md. H. M.*, Sept., 1956, pp. 224-236). ☆ EUGENIA CALVERT HOLLAND and LOUISA MACGILL GARY are members of the Society's staff. ☆ PAUL S. CLARKSON, Baltimore attorney, is co-author of a biography of Luther Martin being readied for publication.

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